

300157

JPRS-UPS-84-080

14 September 1984

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

Reproduced From  
Best Available Copy

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A**  
Approved for Public Release  
Distribution Unlimited

**DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED**

19990806 056

**FBIS**

**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

REPRODUCED BY  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

8  
65  
AP4

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

14 September 1984

# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### INTERNATIONAL

- Socialism Seen as Only Solution to Global Problems  
(V. V. Zagladin, I. T. Frolov; OKTYABR', No 5, May 84) ... 1
- Western Turkologists Comb Soviet Press for Problem Signs  
(O. Redzhepova; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 30 Jun 84) ..... 20

#### NATIONAL

- Letter Calls for Publication of Karamzin's 'History'  
(Semen Shurtakov; LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, No 27, 6 Jul 84) 24

#### REGIONAL

- Turkmen CP CC Buro on Economy, Ideology in Art  
(TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 29 Jun 84) ..... 28
- Turkmen Seminar on Reducing Government Costs  
(TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 26 Jun 84) ..... 31
- Azerbaijan CP CC Buro Discusses Economic, Social Development  
(BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 29 Apr 84) ..... 33
- Member of Georgian Propaganda Department on 'Information'  
(Nugzar Endeladze; ZHURNALIST, No 5, May 84) ..... 36
- Uzbekistan: Discrepancies in Urban, Rural Lifestyles  
(V. Lakhovskaya; KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA, No 6, Jun 84) .... 48
- Films Attack Ukrainian Nationalists, Uniates, Emigres  
(Nonna Kapel'horods'ka; RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA, 13 Jul 84) 57
- Republic-Wide Check on Labor Discipline  
(BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 20 Apr 84) ..... 61

## INTERNATIONAL

### SOCIALISM SEEN AS ONLY SOLUTION TO GLOBAL PROBLEMS

Moscow OKTYABR' in Russian No 5, May 84 pp 156-166

[Article by V.V. Zagladin and I.T. Frolov: "Global Problems and the Fate of Civilization"]

[Text] On the Threshold of the Year 2000: Prerequisites for the Future

Over the course of centuries, the subject of the future has been the object of animated discussion. But in the past, people spoke of the future either on the plane of abstract wishes or on the plane of fantastic conjecture and religious prophecies. The appearance of Marxism created the possibilities of scientific prediction. Since then, discussion about the future has acquired a concrete, substantive character.

But very likely there has never been so much talk about the future as in our time. In today's world it is possible to find everything: scientific forecasts, religious prophecies, optimistic hopes and pessimistic predictions, as well as mathematical computations and the ideas of authors of science-fiction novels.

This interest of mankind in tomorrow has come about partly because mankind is approaching the third millennium of our era, and frontiers of this kind always excite the mind despite their conditional character and give rise to the most diverse reflections. But the current interest in the future is connected, to an even greater extent, to the fact that a serious threat to this future has emerged. Today, for this reason perhaps, there are more pessimistic assessments pertaining to the prospects of society's development, and more fears and gloomy prophecies than has been the case at any time in the past.

Actually, the problem of mankind's future is quite acute. First on the present agenda is an issue which previously simply did not bother people: the question of whether there in fact will be a future. This is connected, of course, with the fact that today the specter of nuclear war is always looming somewhere on the horizon, a war which would spare no living thing.

At the same time, together with the danger of war, other circumstances exist which also create concern, alarm and call for urgent action. These circumstances are not of an as acute character as the threat of war. But they



also carry the potential for disasters on a worldwide scale. We are referring to a group of most diverse problems that in science and journalism are called global problems. Included is the problem of overcoming the underdevelopment of former colonies and the problem of the rational use of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution; the energy, raw materials and food problems; the problem of environmental protection and many others.

They are all familiar problems and have been known to mankind for a very long time. But up until now, they have not been of such an explosive and dangerous a character as they are today. Wherein does their danger exist? Of course, each of the enumerated problems has its own special features, its own content and gives rise to its own threats. Yet they all have something in common. It is first of all the fact that all these problems, if they are not solved in time, could become not only a obstacle to the development of society but also an explosive capable of undermining the foundations of society's existence.

Actually, let us imagine that the problem of underdevelopment is not being resolved but, conversely, continues as now to become more intense: the gap between the developed capitalist and developing countries continues to expand without limit. Is it not clear that this by itself is capable of bringing on the destruction of millions of people through hunger and disease, giving rise to numerous serious conflicts, becoming the source of new wars, dangerous upheavals, causing even greater destabilization, and in the final analysis undermining the entire system of international relations?

Or take the ecological problem. Even now, according to data of the executive director of the UN program for environmental problems (UNEP) M. Tolba, uncontrolled human activity has the most alarming consequences--a continuous increase is taking place in the concentration of carbon dioxide; so called acid rains fall on enormous territories as a result of movement over long distances in the air of sulfates and nitrates and also as a consequence of the combustion of mineral fuel; as the result of the growing emissions into the atmosphere of various chemical compounds, the ozone layer is gradually being depleted; the seas and oceans are being polluted with petroleum; many forms of vegetation and animals are disappearing from vast territories of the developing countries. The lives of 600--700 million people are threatened by the approach of deserts; reserves of fresh water suitable for use are disappearing.

Let us imagine that all this will continue at the same rate. It is clear that this threatens mankind with numerous misfortunes of a most diverse character.

This list could be continued. But it is evidently clear that a common feature of global problems is that they must be solved without fail. This is one of the most important prerequisites for mankind's future progress.

Another common feature of global problems is that they require the joint efforts for their solution of mankind and cooperation - constant and regular - from states without regard to what social system they belong to and where they are located.

In other words, the solution of global problems is an urgent need of contemporary mankind, and it is perfectly natural that in speaking of the future, progressive people in the West and in the East tie the future to this solution, beginning naturally with prevention of a nuclear world war.

In addition to this, it is important to emphasize that the solution of global problems is not merely a matter of the future, nor limited to the future. As we have already stated, many of these issues have already attained a high degree of urgency today. Consequently, for this reason alone, the question of a solution of global problems is not only a behest to future generations but also the lofty responsibility of the present generation.

Attention to global problems is displayed everywhere, and the future of mankind is examined through this prism. It is impossible, however, not to note that approaches to the solution of these problems (and views on what manner their origin, evolution and extent of the threat created by them should be explained) are quite different depending on points of view, on philosophical and ideological positions and on political views. And, of course, the most significant difference here exists in the positions of the two social systems into which the world is divided today--the socialist and the capitalist.

Besides, it is important that the difference here is not purely verbal but perfectly practical: the fact is that each of these systems not only has its own conception of global problems but is even today employing its own fully concrete and quite different methods for their solution. For this reason the question of the future of mankind from the point of view of global problems, while it concerns both East and West, is discussed and examined differently. As a matter of fact, it can be said that the argument about the future in light of global problems has become today a constituent part--and a very important constituent part--of the discussion on the social future of mankind. Hamlet's question of "to be or not to be" in our day does not presume an abstract discussion but the taking of a specific position on social questions and the adoption of this or that social choice.

The given problem has, as one might expect, many different aspects, which naturally cannot be exhausted even in a book, let alone in less voluminous statements. Nonetheless certain basic features of this question could be formulated in a relatively compact form. Let us try to do this.

#### Global Problems in the Mirror of Bourgeois Ideology

We have already pointed out that arguments over global problems are going on everywhere, including in the West. Moreover, it can be said that this topic truly has become one of the most fashionable in the last decade. How does bourgeois ideology approach global problems and the prospects of solving them?

Bourgeois ideology's point of departure is the categorically postulated (although, as we shall see, unfounded) thesis to the effect that global

problems ostensibly possess a character "transcending class," "transcending social position and "transcending the national." The logic of the discussions is as follows: Are the problems that we are discussing manifested everywhere? Everywhere. Do they threaten all of mankind? Yes, all of mankind. Consequently, they have a "class-transcending" character.

In trying to prove the rightness of that approach, come what may, bourgeois ideologues and politicians, examining the aggregate of global problems, arbitrarily exclude from them, for example, such problems as the problem of overcoming underdevelopment and (even!) the problem of war and peace. For them, these two problems stand apart, on the sidelines. But in real life, these two problems are closely connected with all the others, and exert an influence on their solution and affect their evolution.

Actually, is it not obvious, for example, that the problem of war and peace is dangerous in itself, since a nuclear encounter would be a catastrophe for mankind. At the same time, it serves as an obstacle to the solution of the problem of overcoming underdevelopment and as a factor of exacerbation of the energy, raw-material and ecological problems.

Ensuring a peaceful, safe future for all mankind would result in releasing it from the heavy burden of the arms race unleashed by materialism, which by itself alone would contribute to the solution of many urgent global problems facing mankind. Thus disarmament is not only a pressing imperative of the contemporary epoch. As one of the most important of global problems, it in the final analysis predetermines mitigation of the urgency of the entire complex of problems.

Marxist-Leninist scientific thought denies the correctness of the "class-transcending" and the "nonsocial" approach to global problems. Basing itself on the dialectical-materialist view of the world and its cognition, it discloses the nature and significance of global problems and their internal contradictory integrity in connection and interaction with the basic realities of contemporary society.

The Marxist-Leninist conception of global problems systematically takes into account the general and the particular, the international (in this sense global) and the national, the human and the class sides, as well as aspects of world development. In accordance with its conclusions, based not on speculatively erected schemes but on real facts of life, the special features of contemporary world development both in the economic sphere and in the field of social and political relations as well as in the spiritual sphere--in science and culture--are determined in significant measure by the objective processes of internationalization of production and all social life. These processes have attained an unprecedented scale under the influence of the present scientific-technical revolution and have lent a global character to many previously existing and once more reappearing problems of social development. But the dominance of capitalist regimes over a significant

of progressive processes of internationalization and exacerbated to the limit global problems, transforming them in a number of cases into a source of serious threats to all of mankind.

In examining the whole sum of global problems as a dialectically developing system, it must be noted that all these problems are in a certain hierarchical ranking and subordination depending on what kind of cause-and-effect relations exist among them in real life.

The degree of their urgency and the corresponding priority of solutions vary.

The aforesaid criteria have made it possible for Marxist-Leninist science to isolate three basic groups of global problems whose character and forms of solution are connected:

1. Relations among the basic social communities of present-day mankind (socio-economic systems and the states contained in them). These problems can be provisionally called intersocial (here belong problems of peace and disarmament, social development and economic growth, overcoming of backwardness and the like);
2. Correlations of "man--society" (problems of scientific-technical progress, education and culture, population growth, health care, development and adaptation of man and his future);
3. Correlations of "man--nature" (problems of resources, energy, food, environment and so forth).

As we can see, some of the global problems have arisen particularly in the sphere of social relations and consequently their evolution and direction of solution undoubtedly depend on factors of a social character. Others (the second and especially the third group) originated in the sphere of man's relations with nature. But naturally these problems are also in no way isolated from social factors. Moreover, only by taking into account the latter, is their correct understanding and solution in general possible.

Capitalist society engenders global problems belonging to all the three groups. It not only engenders them, it also exacerbates them to a catastrophic or, in any case, to a threatening scale.

Thus, precisely under the conditions where the above-mentioned exploitive-capitalist-formations exist, and especially during the development of imperialism into state-monopolistic formations, transnational capitalism and internationalization of social life have found an ugly expression in world wars. The unprecedented growth of the destructive force of the technology for waging war and the use of thermonuclear arms (which were first created and employed by American imperialism) are able to make such a war into a globally destructive one capable of resulting in the total annihilation of every living thing on earth and transforming our blue planet into a lifeless cosmic body contaminated by radioactive fallout. No one can deny the historical responsibility of imperialism for the creation of a threat to all world civilization!

And is it not capitalism and imperialism that have given rise to such a tragic problem for peoples as underdevelopment? It is the direct consequence of colonialism and neocolonialism.

A long list was presented above of ecological problems that have reached, in UNEP's opinion, a dangerous scale. But it is far from an accident that the examples cited by UNEP primarily apply to capitalist countries!

Thus the initial position of bourgeois ideology and its analysis of global problems is basically fallacious: these problems are not "asocial," but deeply social. We shall propound, however, a question: could it really be that scientists in the West engaged in global studies (and many big names are to be found among them) do not understand this? Evidently, such is the case. But still the main thing is something else: denial of the social nature of global problems serves a fully concrete aim--the attempt to prove the needlessness of replacing capitalism with socialism and to divert the attention of mankind from the cardinal question of our epoch. And it needs to be said that this is clearly visible in these prescriptions for the solution of global problems that are proposed in the West.

Indeed no shortage exists there of various kinds of "projections into the future," which are connected in one way or another with the solution of global problems. But most of them proceed from the assumption that capitalist relations will be retained today and in the future albeit in modified form). Of course, depending on political conditions, these "projections" change their hue. But at the base they always retain the egotism and the mercenary interests of world capitalism and its lackeys, striving for global expansionism and hegemonism, for "world supremacy."

It would be impossible to enumerate here even simply the diverse futuristic predictions and proposals of which there are so many today in the West. In ancient Greek myths, the image of Cassandra was created, a soothsayer of the future whom, however no one believed. In our day, her contemporary followers frequently are believed even when their predictions of the future contain practically no truth.

Here is an example. In accordance with a directive of the President of the United States relating to quality of the environment, the [U.S.] state department prepared in 1980 a report "Global 2000" as the "basis of long-term planning." As has already been pointed out by our scientists, this report contains quite a bit of factual material pertaining to the characterization of various global problems. But on the whole, it, as well as a number of similar Western predictions, scenarios and models of the future, contain a direct extrapolation for the future either of phenomena of the present (capitalism) or of its reformed variants. But the main thing is that they reflect tendencies for global expansion of monopolies and their desire for world dominance.

It is noteworthy, however, that this report is now considered as being too "pessimistic," possessing a "frightening character," and it will be replaced, according to reports of the American press, by a "Revised Global 2000, which



is to appear at the end of this year and which evidently will better serve the objectives of U.S. imperialism. But such tendentiousness, of course, cannot ensure the quality of predictions of the future in the aspect of global problems.

This also applies to works completed by a group of scientists at Sussex University (Great Britain) under the supervision of J. Gribbin, "The Future of the World" (1981) and V. Barr "Politics for the Future" and a number of others. Indicative on this plane is a book published in the United States by P. Houcken, J. Ogilvie and P. Schwartz "Seven Versions of the Future. On the Road to Control of History" in which the authors examine such a version of the future as... a nuclear battle in space between the United States and the USSR ending with victory for the Americans. Is this not but a regular "screen" for the militaristic policy of U.S. imperialism attempting to inspire in peoples the myth of permissibility of nuclear war?

Of course, such provocative "projections into the future" are not numerous. They differ in large degree from the futuristic constructs widespread in the West, which are accompanied by what could be called "mythology on a global level," that is, social utopianism of the bourgeois reformist ilk. But a certain connection and even a "mutual understanding" exist between them. The apologetic, conservatively optimistic bent of bourgeois futurology at certain stages is hybridized with the widespread apocalyptic conception of the future. As a result, new forms emerge, constituting a kind of amalgam of optimism and pessimism in neoconservative bourgeois reformist predictions.

And, as a rule, all this is directly opposed to Marxism and communism. In some cases attempts are made to find a "third way," in essence, a variant of the notorious "convergence" of capitalism and socialism, which is presented in the form of a certain "alternative movement," intended "to turn away from well-trodden paths of social lack of promise" and "to create a new life style." At the same time, once again it is not capitalism but scientific-technical progress and its concomitant global problems that are declared to be the source of all evil.

The latter, as has already been pointed out in our literature, is also characteristic of many reports of the "Club of Rome" It is noteworthy that absolutization of problems of "human nature," accompanied by utopian constructs in the social sphere exists in harmony in its work with technological conceptions. The most important processes of development of contemporary civilization are examined from the point of view of an essentially philosophical approach. This is clearly disclosed in particular in one of the most recent reports of the "Rome club," called "The Microelectronic Society," in which the aim is to elucidate as clearly as possible the difficulties, possibilities and problems of microelectronics and to show what its development means for mankind. The report touches upon numerous aspects of the complex and difficult question of what the strategy should be that would be able to ensure the use of new technologies for the benefit rather than the harm of mankind.

The authors of the report correctly point out that cardinal social changes produced by wide-scale introduction of microelectronics require serious

measures relating to the operation and regulation of these processes. After making these conclusions, the authors, however, do not make a concrete differentiation of existing social systems, nor determine their abilities or inabilities to develop positive social consequences and to neutralize negative ones deriving from the development of microelectronics. We in essence run into still another position here that is abstract, utopian and not realistic on the social level, which places socialism and capitalism on the same level.

Of course, it would be in the highest degree unfair and improvident to investigate all works in which notions fallacious from our point of view are enunciated concerning the prospects of man and mankind under the conditions of the global problems and concerning the alternatives of the future under these conditions as the manifestation of activity of the class enemy. Many Western futurologist scientists not taking the positions of Marxism and not considering socialism and communism as a real alternative to capitalism, are quite sincerely concerned about the fate of man and mankind. Attempting to find a way out of the created tragic situation on the paths of humanism, they introduce utopian ideas of the possibility of formulating such social and philosophical "objectives of mankind" as would allegedly be able by themselves to convince all people of their truth and to take them into the future by optimal routes.

Marxists have criticized and will continue to criticize such concepts. But at the same time, they are in favor of a dialog with the authors [of such concepts], and in favor of cooperation with them in many vital problems of today, including global ones and first and foremost--in the struggle for peace, disarmament, for democracy, freedom, the dignity of man and his future. Marxists consider that in many cases, this is a way of making a transition to genuinely scientific positions by those who love man and mankind and are sincerely concerned for his future.

#### Global Problems and Socialism

We have already noted above that capitalism by its very nature gives rise to global problems of all the three groups. Socialism, on the contrary, by no means gives rise to all problems of that kind.

Thus socialism by its very nature not only does not give rise to wars but, on the contrary, does everything possible for their elimination from the life of society. The socialist community is at the head of the contemporary struggle for peace and disarmament. Our community, and first and foremost the Soviet Union, were the initiator of many proposals and practical actions in this direction. And this is understandable since the main consideration for socialism is peaceful and creative work for the well-being of man and his free and all-round development, the key to which lies in the sphere of social progress. The lofty noble aims of socialism in the sphere of foreign policy

Central Committee and the speech of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee K.U. Chernenko after this plenum.

In the same way socialism not only does not produce the problem of underdevelopment but, on the contrary, resolves it. Having destroyed exploitation of workers and created real preconditions for the establishment of socialist justice, real freedom, equality of people and the development of true democracy, socialism thereby opened a new stage of historical development--the stage of overcoming the backwardness of entire nations and peoples inherited from the exploited past.

As for global problems of the second and especially the third group, they also occur under socialism. This is natural since we are dealing with problems arising in the production process, and socialism not only does not signify its cessation, but on the contrary, raises it to a new high. But socialism creates essentially new conditions and possibilities for the solution of problems of this kind.

The advantages of socialism in this and in other spheres are due to the people's ownership of tools and means of production (which makes it possible to overcome the contradiction between the operational aims of an individual producer and all of society) and the planned system of managing the national economy (and this in turn makes it possible to overcome the dangerous spontaneity and absence of control of economic and scientific-technical development). Even F. Engels wrote: "Only society with the ability to establish a harmonious combination of its productive forces according to a single general plan is able... to eliminate the present poisoning of the air, water and soil."<sup>1</sup> Today this thesis has been confirmed by practice.

The planned system of socialist management, the possibility of creation and successful operation of which is also ensured by the dominance of public ownership of the means of production, creates the necessary conditions for the development and implementation of an integrated approach to the solution of problems of population, food, energy, raw materials, ecology and so on and for the working out of such a strategy of development, which not only would not lead to negative and especially catastrophic consequences but, on the contrary, would guarantee the creation of increasingly favorable conditions for the all-round development of the individual.

Furthermore, the advantages of socialism stem from those aims which a new society makes for itself. In striving to guarantee conditions for the free and all-round development of the individual as an "end in itself" (K. Marx), it includes among a number of basic tasks the overcoming of dangerous tendencies threatening the existence of mankind.

The experience accumulated by real socialism shows that the dominance of public ownership of the means of production provides the possibility to ensure the principled coincidence of research and humanist interests by scientists and the dialectical interconnection of freedom of research and social responsibility. And this creates the basis for a harmonious union of scientific-technical progress with the social advantages of the new system and its humanist values and for the management of scientific-technical progress in



the interests of man and mankind. On the other hand, the economic achievements of socialism and the modern economic potential created by it provide the necessary technical requisites for the solution of global problems, that is, a technical and technological progress to the degree required for finding answers to the practical questions propounded by life.

The existence of the socialist state and government of workers headed by the working class with its decisive guiding role provide the possibility to ensure modern development, adoption and implementation of measures aimed at the prevention or elimination of the negative consequences of scientific-technical progress both for man and for mankind. Socialist policy in the field of education, upbringing and culture removes barriers in the way of involving the great mass of the population in participating in discussion and solution of all social and state affairs, including, naturally, active conscious participation of workers in the struggle for prevention of undesirable exacerbation of problems falling among global ones and in their solution for the purpose of advancing the relations of man and nature toward the communist ideal.

It would undoubtedly be a mistake to assume that socialist social relations and the undoubted advantages of the new order automatically ensure the realization of all these (and, by the by, other) possibilities determined by them. A number of barriers of both an objective and a subjective order exist on this path.

Among the barriers of an objective character there should first of all be included the circumstance that by virtue of the very nature of global problems being global, that is, applying to all mankind as a whole, their solution presupposes action on a worldwide scale. And provision of optimal conditions for such a worldwide solution of global problems would only be possible with the victory of socialism on a planetary scale and with full realization of the tendency pointed out by V.I. Lenin "for creation of a single worldwide economy as a whole according to a general plan regulated by the proletariat of all nations."<sup>2</sup>

But this is a long-term question. And global problems are becoming more acute even today; they, especially the problem of war and peace, even now threatens mankind. Marxists see the way out of this situation, as has already been mentioned above, in broad development of international cooperation. The struggle for the establishment of this policy in international life and for a responsible approach to the observance of new norms despite present difficulties constitutes one of the important tasks of today.

A particularly important role as a positive international factor is played today by the cooperation of the socialist states. In continuously developing (naturally not without contradictions and difficulties), the world of socialism proves not with words but with concrete deeds the realism of the manner proposed by it of solving global problems through the development of international cooperation. Even today, although world socialism has far from achieved such a stage of development where its possibilities would be optimal, it is undertaking an increasing wider range of measures along this line.

Furthermore, among factors of an objective nature narrowing the possibility of socialist society to solve global problems there also should be included their scientific and technological, and in a number of cases social and political complexity and the insufficiency in a number of cases of already existing scientific and technical developments. This circumstance should all the more be taken into account since over the course of time, the global problems themselves will evolve and often take a new and unexpected turn. This will give rise to unforeseen consequences and create additional difficulties for socialist society.

As for factors of a subjective character rendering more difficult the solution of global problems for socialism, they are most diverse. And vary in their significance.

Here the well-known lag of science in socialist countries in working out global problems as a specific and complex subject of scientific cognition, the prospects of their evolution and paths to their solution as well as working out recommendations needed for practical workers should be recalled.

However, it is evidently impossible to exaggerate the responsibility for scientists' lag in solving global problems since such a solution depends to a definite extent on factors of a social rather than of a pure scientific order. In the case of global problems, one clearly should also emphasize more the heuristic, stimulating and even catalytic role of science. It offers not only their scientific solution but also stimulates their social definition.

Of course, factors of a political character are of special importance among subjective factors that present difficulties for socialism in the solution of global problems. Even though it has already been more than 15 years that five-year plans have included special positions pertaining to the solution of different aspects of these problems, the realization of these positions in a number of cases leaves much to be desired. Thus, far from everything necessary, and what is more, possible, is being done for the purpose of having ecology bear on industrial production. The working out of big national-economic projects is not always accompanied by requisite forecasting of the consequences of technologically originating changes, while the forecasts that have been made at times are not sufficiently taken into account. In many cases, such problems as utilization of wastes, recultivation of land, biological purification of utilized waters and the like remain outside the field of vision of both planners and of practical production people.

The reasons here, on the one hand, are the same ones that apply to defects in other spheres of social-economic construction (a weak state of discipline of these or those parts of the state apparatus, slipshoddiness, slowness or passivity in performance of plan targets, red tape and so on) and, on the other, their own specific ones. The fact is that the investigation and solution of a complex of problems connected with the contradictions and difficulties of contemporary social, economic, political and cultural development of mankind and the newness and extraordinary nature of these

the means and methods of thinking and of breaking of all, persistent concepts. And such a restructuring, such a breaking requires definite time and big efforts.

### The Strategy of Improving Socialism and Solving Global Problems

The realization of the objective advantages of socialism with respect to what pertains to the solution of global problems presupposes efforts by society, the state and even every individual citizen of the socialist association of peoples. At the present time, the question of solving global problems has become particularly acute and important not only in the Soviet Union but also in the other socialist countries. And this is not just connected to the fact that with the course of time the problems themselves become more acute but also to the fact that the solution of global problems has become an inseparable composite part of the struggle for effectiveness of socialist production, its intensification and for economy. This applies to all the three groups of global problems.

Let us take the global problems of the first group. Prevention of nuclear war is a matter of saving mankind and protecting its future. But the most important part of the struggle for prevention of war is the struggle for cessation of the arms race. As has been pointed out more than once in party documents, cessation of the arms race would allow us to free considerable sums and resources for peaceful, constructive purposes. And this is constantly taken into consideration in the determination of the tasks of Soviet foreign policy.

The solution of another global problem of intersocial character--overcoming of the economic backwardness of former colonies--would be of major importance, including from the point of view of the economic development of the Soviet land. Not to speak of the fact that success in this matter would contribute to the stabilization of international relations as a whole, and raising the level of economic development of former colonies would contribute to the normalization of international economic relationships and to the expansion and possibilities of broader development of economic cooperation of the socialist countries with the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. And this undoubtedly would be in the interests of both sides.

Let us now turn to the global problems of the second group (man--society"). The problem of scientific-technical progress and of utilizing its fruits in accordance with the interests of man and society stands in first place among them.

Utilization of the fruits of scientific-technical progress in developed capitalist countries and its subordination to the interest of extracting profit undoubtedly results in economy of live and embodied labor. But this is the kind of economy which is at the same time accompanied by the squandering of the property of society--manpower. For this is economy achieved among other things by excluding a tremendous number of people from work turnover and from participation in socially useful labor. The result is that introduction into production of the latest achievements of science and technology leads in capitalist countries to undermining the conditions of existence for millions

of people (in developed capitalist countries the number of unemployed has become greater than 18 million people and with the inclusion of the partially unemployed--more than 30 million) and thus to actual reduction of society's production potential.

There are many calculations of that effect which is produced in capitalist countries by the introduction of new technology in production. But we have not encountered any calculations of the damage that society experiences from forced reduction of the size of the work force. The corresponding indicator, however, must be very big: the fact is that the share of unemployed in the major countries of the West is approaching 10 percent of the entire work force (and here and there it has exceeded that figure). And it is quite important that a significant portion of these 10 percent consists of young people who have received an education (including specialized or technical) but are unable (and in a large number of cases never will be able) to find use for themselves at work.

The socialist system has spared working people the scourge of unemployment. The introduction of scientific-technical achievements ensures here an increase in free time for the employed. Those, who as a result of one or another of the improvements of the production process, are unable to continue working at a given production operation immediately receive from society the opportunity to use their energies and capabilities at another place. For this reason the introduction of technology in the national economy under conditions of socialism is equivalent to economy of live labor, that is, to a real growth of the possibilities of the basic production force of society--the man of labor.

Naturally, this potential possibility like all the potential advantages of socialism is not realized by itself. Further improvement is required for planning the training of labor reserves (keeping in mind secondary and higher education), ensuring the necessary mobility of manpower (particularly its planned yet unconstrained transference from those regions of the country where it is in surplus to those where it is in short supply) and in preventing the settlement of people trained for production in the nonproduction sphere. The realization of all these measures, which, it should be pointed out, were provided for by the decisions of the 24th-26th party congresses and the November (1982) June and December (1983) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, will significantly raise the efficiency of socialist production.

The solution of this task is, however, only a part of the problems arising in connection with the realization of economy from the introduction of the achievements of science and technology. The main thing here is to ensure an optimally rapid introduction of the achievements of science, technology and production technology into production. But there can be no mention of real economy if there is no provision for the replacement of obsolete with new and latest equipment. It is no accident that at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee there was raised not just the question of acceleration

of the last stage of the scientific-technical revolution which promises a technological revolution in many spheres of production.

In the closest connection with this problem is yet another--the problem of significant improvement of the entire system of education. The adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet in April 1984 of the school reform and bringing education into accord with the requirements not only of our present but also our future national economy and our education as a whole constitute one of the important reserves of economy of both live and embodied labor. And here in addition to a general rise in the quality of training specialists we are also dealing with the establishment in workers at all stages of a new type of economic thinking aimed, as was pointed out at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, increased responsibility and a creative search for ways leading to the best national-economic end result with the smallest outlays.

Let us now turn to the global problems of the third group--to problems arising in relationships between man and nature. This concerns questions of rational use of natural resources, including energy, raw materials, food and protection of the environment.

There is no necessity to prove that the solution of these problems has a most direct bearing on questions of economy in the national economy. It should, however, be noted that the connection here, if one may so put it, is two-sided. On the one hand, the solution, for example of the energy problem and the problem of rational utilization of natural resources, including here both energy and food, will provide significant economy both directly today and when calculated for the extended future. On the other hand, strict economy of energy, raw and other materials constitutes one of the most effective ways of solving this very problem.

The introduction of less energy-intensive, materials-intensive, water-saving and so forth technologies is one of the most important directions for the solution of the global problems of the third group. On the other hand, it is namely such technological solutions that are the most economical from the national-economic point of view.

The ecological problem deserves individual mention. Protection of the environment and measures aimed at its provision sometimes are considered by economic managers as a pure waste of money without any benefit to production. But this is a profound misconception. Of course, protection of the environment and creation of water-protection and air-protection devices call for big expenditures, much greater than the funds being spent.

First, nature-protection measures ensure the preservation and reproduction of resources most important from the national-economic point of view, first of all water, timber and so on. They create conditions for more successful subsequent production activity. Of course, reference is not always made to the operation of a given enterprise (sector). But there where we are dealing with the environment, the approach must be broader, statewide and not narrowly

development of such methods of material stimulation and concern for the environment as would take into account this side of the matter.

Second, implementation of these measures, even where they do not apply to the production activity of a given enterprise, is inevitably reflected in its operation since it provides more favorable conditions for the life and work of its entire collective and every individual.

When developing a strategy and tactics for the practical solution of global problems, Marxists naturally take into account the scientific and technological results in this field attained in capitalist countries. But on the social plain, they turn first of all to the experience of real socialism. Such an approach makes it possible to see not only the essential advantages of the socialist way of solving global problems but also the defects, objective and subjective contradictions to be found at the present stage of historical development which are overcome in the course of socialist construction.

### Communism and Global Problems

The cardinal question about which a sharp philosophical and ideological struggle is now proceeding throughout the entire world is that of man and his future under the conditions of global problems. As we know, bourgeois and reformist thought in turning to this problem creates abstract utopian constructs stemming from anthropological absolutization of the "nature of man" and the like.

Their use of anthropology actually is an extreme, contrary to technocratic pessimism. But it should be noted that that to which bourgeois reformist thought is coming to today in such hypertrophied form is in its rational form a theoretical foundation of Marxism. Actually, only Marxism has emphasized from the very beginning that man--his existence and development, his activities and requirements--is a unique "point of reckoning" of the historical process. Naturally, Marxism deals with man not as an abstraction but as a social being who in himself is the product of the social-historical process.

This position of Marxism was made and developed at the initial stages of its study of social and humanist problems of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution, including global problems. Unfortunately, for a number of reasons, in the examination of global problems of the scientific-technical revolution, the priority and traditions of Marxism are not always taken into account in adequate measure. Furthermore, many new facts and tendencies pertaining to man and his future in the age of global problems, particularly on the question of the relation of the social and natural-biological factors of his development, are frequently ignored or incorrectly interpreted.

For this reason the first thing to which it is necessary to direct attention here is by and large the new conditions of man's existence and development brought into life particularly by processes of the scientific-technical revolution and the exacerbation of class problems. These new conditions are expressed, first, in the changed character of man's labor activity, in the course of which he mediates, regulates and controls the process "metabolism"



proceeding between him and nature. Second, they are determined by changes in man's direct relations with nature external to him. Third, they are connected with new factors of man's life activity as a biosocial being, with his, so to speak, biology. Finally, fourth, these new changes are expressed in a change in man's interrelations as an individual with society and with people like himself comprising contemporary humanity.

Naturally, all these four new factors (and particularly the last) are directly due to the character of that social structure within the framework of which man's life activity takes place. But they also contain certain global manifestations and tendencies applying to all mankind which are becoming the subject of researches on and discussions about man by representatives of the contemporary sciences.

Many of these discussions deal with the correlation of social and biological factors of man's existence and development. Moreover, one factor or another is usually stressed more than the other. And then these opposing positions are determined by opponents as vulgar sociology [sotsiologizm] or as sociobiology [sotsial-biologizm]. The latter, it should be said, is today significantly more prevalent than the former. This is also connected, at the very least indirectly, with intensive development of human genetics, ethology and the like and undoubtedly with the exacerbation of global problems, creating in certain respects, a threat to the biological existence of mankind and lending an extraordinary pertinency to the question of the need for man's adaptation to drastically changing in many respects conditions of the natural and social environment.

Marxists provide a consistently scientific analysis of future alternatives in the aspect of global problems. Moreover, they do this while putting man at the center of all global problems and at the same time investigating his social connections not as something stemming from an abstract analysis of "human nature" but rather as due to the special features of this or that period of history, data of economic and social-class relations, ideological and philosophical forms of social consciousness, science and technology and culture as a whole. Let us recall that K. Marx defined the nature of man as the aggregate of all social relationships.

At the same time, man as a social creature, according to Marxism, is not opposed by his biological nature, being its prerequisite. This is why, although we proceed from the fact that the global problem of man and his future is first of all a pressing social problem and that its comprehensive solution cannot help but also rely on a whole complex of sciences about man, including the biological sciences. Without this, it would be impossible to have, in particular, scientific organization of training and education and development of man, beginning with the early stages of human ontogenesis and ending with those on which the formation of the personality is achieved.

All this as a whole contributes a great deal that is new in the actual understanding of what a man of the communist tomorrow should be and which of his qualities should be cultivated even today on a common human scale and in the methods of cognition of man and practical operation in regard to his training, education and development. We are referring to an integrated

approach based on a dialectical understanding of the interaction and reciprocal influence of social and natural-biological factors and mediation of the latter through specifically human activity which constitutes the "live nerve" of human civilization.

Such an approach presupposes the use of anthropology and history of mankind, its development in connection with the processes of the scientific-technical revolution, ecology and demographic processes of mankind, human biology and genetics, the analysis of his psychophysiological capabilities displayed in different forms of material and spiritual activity and, finally, human sociology and philosophy and the infinite world of his moral life and the humanist principles of the entire system of human activity and the science studying it.

As we see, the conditions of global problems are increasingly more clearly revealed in the emergence of a number of new and the intensification of "eternal" questions pertaining to the existence and development of man and mankind today and in the future. This sets new tasks before the complex of the sciences about man in their unity and interaction. The solution of these questions and the tasks today are extremely difficult if at all possible under the conditions of a "splintered world" and separation of the sciences about man. Nonetheless, in laying out social routes into the future, socialism as a stage of new communist civilization solves in a practical way basic human problems and provides for the development of the new man corresponding in its qualities to the conditions of global problems. Preconditions are also created thereby for the scientific and theoretical understanding of the problem of man and his future.

It is namely the social transformations of human civilization that create first of all not only the need for the new man of the new civilization but also the preconditions as well as the effective means of their realization. For this reason the problem of man and his future has turned out today to be central not only in a scientific, particularly philosophical and sociological interpretation of the processes of world development but also in the opposition of socialism and capitalism as two types of human civilizations pointing out in many ways opposing means of existence and ways of human development.

In our time, having learned to take a great deal (although far from everything that is needed) from nature, man has mastered to a significantly lesser degree the art of replacing its losses and giving back to it what he took from it on loan. And the hindrances which prevent him from reaching such a goal are, as has already been stated, not so much of a scientific-technical as of a social character.

It is possible to remove these social hindrances. But this aim can be achieved with only such a social force, with such a class, with such a social



development in their entirety and interdependence. Such a class is the working class. Such a social system is socialism growing into communism.

While analyzing the functioning of the capitalist system, K. Marx and F. Engels came to the following noteworthy conclusion: "...the necessity arises to protect the products and productive forces produced by bourgeois capitalist society from the ruinous, destructive operation of this selfsame capitalist social system, removing the control of public production and distribution by the ruling class of capitalists who became unfit for this and turned it over to the mass of manufacturers--and this is a socialist revolution." The correctness of this conclusion is reinforced today by new arguments that are increasingly more important for the fate of human civilization and first and foremost by the fact of the continuing deepening of contradictions between the emerging scientific-technical, economic, political and spiritual possibilities of eliminating global dangers and the inability as well as the lack of desire of the capitalist world to make use of them in the needed measure. In other words, exacerbation of global problems with a great deal more force than at any time in the history of civilizations discloses the social limitedness of the capitalist system. It is becoming increasingly more clear with social-economic, scientific-technical and socio-cultural progress of society.

Under these conditions, Marxist-Leninist science faces with special acuteness questions pertaining to the future of mankind and the perspectives of building communism under the conditions of global problems. Even today it is impossible to imagine future communist society separately from how such problems as raw-material energy, food and others will be solved. And here it is not enough to just have some general ideas of an optimistic kind coming from purely scientific-technological suppositions and forecasts.

Of course, we know that scientific-technical progress opens up to mankind extremely broad horizons. The use of thermonuclear energy, biotechnology and emergence into space--these and other achievement are capable over the long term of creating a basis for the solution of many most acute problems. But it would hardly be proper to stress just this side of the matter while closing our eyes to those difficulties which inevitably arise--including before socialist society--in connection with the exhaustion of nonrenewable natural resources, shrinkage of the power base and the like.

On the other hand, the more we proceed, the more obvious the necessity becomes of an economical approach of society to resources at its disposal and of increasing the effectiveness of their use as well as ensuring the maximum possible yield from the labor of all society and each person individually. Only under such conditions will mankind be able fully to live and to develop under the conditions of the global problems. This is all the more so because problems of this kind will be replaced by others, and society as well as each individual should even now prepare for this. It is clear that socialism not only cannot bring about a termination of both these processes but, on the contrary, is bound to give them a limited character deprived of antagonisms.

It follows from this that communism, as an intelligently organized society in which each receives according to his needs, assumes that these same needs must

be scientifically based and intelligently organized. K. Marx constantly drew attention to this in his works. And in this direction, our party today carries on tremendous economic and ideological-educational work. The April (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee began its new important stage.

Thus the prerequisite for solving global problems common to all mankind is in the final analysis victory of the working class as a class, that is, realization by it of its historical mission--the elimination of capitalism and the building of socialism. In its turn, the actual solution of problems common to all mankind (including global problems) is becoming a reality under the conditions of solving the final, basic problem of the working-class movement--improvement of developed socialism followed by the building of full communism. The point of departure for this process and its brilliant beginning was Great October.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Marx, K. and Engels, F., "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 20, pp 307-308.
2. Lenin, V.I., "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Collection of Works], Vol 41, p 16.
3. Marx, K. and Engels, F., op cit, Vol 20, p 623.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda". "Oktyabr'", 1984.

7697

CSO: 1807/269

## INTERNATIONAL

### WESTERN TURKOLOGISTS COMB SOVIET PRESS FOR PROBLEM SIGNS

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 30 Jun 84 p 2

[Article by O. Redzhepova, senior scientific associate of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences, and candidate of philosophy under the rubric "Anticommunism: How To Do It": "When Arguments Are Lacking"]

[Text] British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, in his notorious speech of 5 March 1946 in the U.S. town of Fulton, announced the start of the "cold war" between East and West. More than three decades passed, and then in 1982 U.S. President Ronald Reagan, while speaking before the British Parliament declared a "new crusade" against communism. This crusade has been accompanied by an unprecedented intensification of ideological combat and informational-propaganda intervention by imperialism against the countries of socialism.

In pursuing these goals, use is made both of our internal difficulties and of certain external factors. For example, in the period between the 1970s and 1980s propaganda to the Central Asian region of the USSR was marked by intensive use of the political activities of Islam in the contemporary world, and particularly in neighboring Moslem countries. The traditional anti-Soviet emphasis on nationalism has taken on a markedly Islamic coloration. The new tactic, with the accent on Pan-Islamic ideas has pursued old goals: attempting to promote the alienation of the peoples of Central Asia from the fraternal peoples of the Union and to kindle religious and nationalistic sentiments.

However, as one might have expected, the sovietologists' expectations of an "Islamic contagion" proved to be without substance. The optimistic assessments in the first articles published after the Afghan and Iranian incidents gradually turned more sober. Even the most convinced of our opponents were forced to abandon hopes for immediate radical changes in Central Asia, and to defer to the start of the next millenium the anti-Soviet predictions dear to their hearts, as a certain M. Rivkin has done in his opus "The Moslem Appeal to Moscow," which was published in 1982.

And while the propaganda machine is working to incite the processes desired by imperialism, bourgeois ideologists are carefully going through our newspapers, magazines and books in an attempt to turn up signs of any changes in life in Central Asia since 1979.

For example, dissecting articles in TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA and SOVET TURKMENISTANY down to the atom yields implications not dreamed of either by the writer or the readers of the papers, but not hidden from the penetrating gaze of any sovietologist and his anti-Soviet magnifying glass. Illustrations of the wild fantasy that discloses the tendency peculiar to anti-Communism of taking wish for reality can be frequently found in the writings of sovietologists.

I will give just one example. In one of her articles published in the journal IZVESTIYA AN TSSR [Proceedings of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences] and devoted to a criticism of anti-Communism and its emphasis on nationalism, the writer of this article wrote: "Large-scale armies of ideological subversives, well trained and furnished with the latest equipment, have been dispatched to the front lines of the propaganda cold war currently launched against the USSR by imperialism. We must not in any way underestimate this reactionary force and its ability to influence people's minds and hearts. Intellectuals have a special responsibility in the struggle against hostile ideology and propaganda. And not just because exposing the mendacious and libelous nature of bourgeois propaganda is their immediate duty to the people and the party, but also because intellectuals themselves are one of the main targets of imperialism's propaganda treatment. It is just among the intellectuals that our opponents are looking for potential dissidents..."

A few months later, in the first issue of CENTRAL ASIA SURVEY, a journal that has recently come out in Great Britain, A. Bennigsen brought up these lines in an article of his analyzing the situation in Central Asia since the events in Afghanistan. One wonders how an idea could interest a sovietologist that basically only expresses the Leninist principle of uninterrupted ideological struggle and increased political vigilance when the struggle becomes more acute. This principle is reflected in many party documents and in various books, articles, newspapers and journals. It is hard to imagine that A. Bennigsen is unaware of this, since he is a professor at the Sorbonne, and also teaches at the University of Chicago, and is one of the senior sovietologists.

A. Bennigsen has lent his pen not only to numerous articles, but also to such books as "Islam in the Soviet Union" (London, 1967), "Moslem National Communism in the Soviet Union" (Chicago--London, 1979), and "The Moslem Threat to the Soviet Union" (London, 1983), which were written in collaboration with several sovietologists.

It is even more astonishing that the writer of the passage cited, who is a humble scientific associate and a rank-and-file communist, in writing these lines was elevated to the rank of a "high-level member of the Turkmen Communist Party." To comprehend this flight of fancy one must turn the page, then everything falls into place. "The Soviet authorities," writes A. Bennigsen, "are especially apprehensive that the events in Iran and Afghanistan might incite anti-Russian or pro-Islamic nationalism among Soviet Moslems. Furthermore, any undesirable change of climate in Central Asia is looked on by the Soviet authorities as a consequence of foreign propaganda and agents."

Not finding in our political or scientific literature or in the press any instances of such "apprehensions," since they do not exist, and in possession of no facts about "changes," the professor has probably resorted to the well known method of anti-Soviets of reading between the lines. In accordance with this method, if we write, for example, that people should clean their shoes every day, especially in bad weather, this is presented as an acknowledgement by the Soviets of a catastrophic shortage of shoe brushes. Just such "logic" is the basis for the interpretation of our words on the need for an appropriate response to the worsening of the ideological struggle.

Moreover, A. Bennigsen attempts to raise doubts about the unarguable fact that bourgeois propaganda is aimed at inciting negative aspects in national relations within the USSR. But can the professor seriously believe that imperialism is throwing to the wind the enormous funds spent on its propaganda apparatus? The growth in expenditures on imperialist propaganda is a matter of fact. Where is the United States, for example, they increased by 150 million dollars under President Carter, the Reagan Administration has proposed to triple this amount. In the fiscal year 1978 642.3 million dollars were appropriated for the United States Information Agency (USIA), or 14.3 million dollars more than in the previous year. It is planned that the 806.2 million dollar subsidy to the Voice of America will grow by a factor of four in 1985. This begins the implementation of a five-year program to modernize its radio stations, and provides in particular for the construction of new transmitters in eight regions of the world. The latest achievements in the field of television broadcasting via satellite communications are being more widely put at the service of "psychological warfare." And naturally this enormous system is receiving appropriate management, and its masters fully expect definite political profits from the capital invested in it.

If A. Bennigsen had wanted to add weight and an official tone to the idea that interests him, he had only to turn to the materials of the 22nd Congress of the Turkmen Communist Party, which clearly and unambiguously discuss the attitude toward the worsening ideological struggle and its characteristics, and the tasks to be done in connection with conditions in the republic. And the professor is acquainted with these materials, since he quoted them at length in his article in the part criticizing shortcomings in atheistic work. This is a typical detail, and says a lot. In general, while widely using Soviet self-criticism and especially critical articles in newspapers, A. Bennigsen at the same time writes nothing, on his part of that of other sovietologists, of the substance of the criticism contained in the article he is citing, even in a separate footnote, but he does give the names of the persons criticized.

We really believe that imperialistic propaganda is helping to support and incite negative aspects of national relations in the USSR. But we are far from considering it their only cause, as A. Bennigsen tries to make out. Along with this external factor there are also internal contradictions and errors that cause digressions from internationalism as the norm of the socialist way of life.

Socialism is a developing system, and, naturally, the dynamics of so multi-national a state as the USSR give rise to various non-antagonistic contradictions. In revealing these contradictions and their causes in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and in other documents the party is directing communists, scholars and all Soviet people to eliminate them as soon as possible. As K.U. Chernenko emphasized at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "it is important to reveal promptly the problems and contradictions that crop up here and to skillfully resolve them."

There are also references in A. Bennigsen's article to other writers from Central Asia, with such a fantastic interpretation of their materials, that they are simply incomprehensible. For example, he affirms that at the present stage of anti-religious propaganda in Central Asia "Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan are targets of special attention." But in a footnote to this sentence reference is made to a book published back in 1965 by a Tadzhik writer regarding vestiges of the Ishan cult in Tadzhikistan and ways of eliminating them. How can something written almost 20 years ago about a totally different republic support a thesis on the features of atheistic propaganda since 1979 regarding Kazakhstan and Turkmeniya?

Answers to these and other questions that crop up on reading the article of A. Bennigsen and the works of his fellow sovietologists have been provided by the well known German writer, Hermann Hesse, who is noted for his novel "Steppenwolf:" "It is well known that no one writes worse than the supporters of an outmoded ideology, and no one shows less fastidiousness and conscientiousness in his craft than they."

12697

CSO: 1830/571

NATIONAL

LETTER CALLS FOR PUBLICATION OF KARAMZIN'S 'HISTORY'

Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian No 27, 6 Jul 84 p 20

[Article, published under the heading "Letter to the Editor," by Semen Shurtakov: "...Not Only the Work of a Great Writer But Also the Deed of an Honest Man'"]

[Text] 1. The Question of Citation

A. Chizhov, secondary technical school instructor in the town of Ryazhsk, Ryazan Oblast, begins his letter to the editor of LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA (No 20, 1984) as follows: "I would like to share my thoughts about a book published last year, entitled "Posledniy letopisets" [The Last Chronicler], by N. Ya. Eydel'man, which deals with Karamzin. It is an interesting, profound, content-rich book."

But what was not to the liking of the secondary technical school instructor (judging by the title he gave his letter -- "The Problem of Methodology" -- in his enlightened view there was something wrong with the book)?

He reproaches the author for the fact that in the "brief list of utilized materials and, consequently, within the text of the entire book itself, I did not find any reference to K. Marx." He adds: "And yet it is essential to know what he said about Karamzin!"

While entirely in agreement that it is certainly a good thing for everybody who writes about Karamzin to know what Marx said about him, nevertheless I should like to ask this erudite secondary technical school instructor: on what basis has he concluded that the book's author is not familiar with what Marx has said about Karamzin? Does he think that the person of the writer and historian is examined in this book from other than a Marxist position? Or is the author guilty of a subjectivistic, methodologically erroneous, that is, a non-Marxist approach in appraising his historical work?

But the author of the letter says nothing about this, and therefore we must assume that is not a problem. But if such is the case, then there is sufficient reason to assume that the book's author is well familiar with Marx's statements about Karamzin.

It seems that A. Chizhov is concerned not so much with the necessity of possessing knowledge of what Marx said about Karamzin as he is with the mandatory need to quote his statements. But does the "question of methodology" really lie in this?

It is true that in reading the "letter" further, one begins to understand why its author insists on Marx being quoted. Probably in his desire to show how well read he is, he quotes the famous Pushkin epigram about Karamzin and from this concludes "closeness between Pushkin's views and statements by Marx." It turns out that this is the reason for all the fuss! But is it really mandatory to make Pushkin a Marxist?

From this first question proceeds a second question, which is not of a methodological nature. And a question addressed not only to the author of "Letter."

## 2. Is It Not High Time....

It would take a number-crunching computer to calculate how many times -- in articles and books, journals and newspapers -- Pushkin's epigram about the author of "Istoriya Gosudarstva Rossiyskogo" [History of the Russian State] has been cited. But who cited what statements by that same Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin about that same Nikolay Mikhaylovich Karamzin and his "History" and where, in what article? And since in school we become accustomed to examine every phenomenon comprehensively, why is it that here -- is it not strange? -- we depart from this reliable dialectical principle? Particularly since there is more than an adequate availability of various statements.

While he was still in secondary school, Pushkin became acquainted with fragments of Karamzin's "History" and was a constant visitor -- Karamzin lived very close to the school -- at the home of the historiographer, who at that time resided in Tsarskoye Selo. The "History" was his desktop companion during adulthood.

"...Russian letters can proudly display to Europe Karamzin's History," Pushkin wrote. As if seconding him, Belinskiy called the style of "History" "a marvelous fretwork on copper and marble."

Perhaps somebody will retort: perhaps so, from the standpoint of literature, style, language. Let us assume it is. Style is also a matter of importance. Tatishchev and Shcherbatov wrote multivolume "Russian Histories" back in the 18th century. But Pushkin for some reason called Karamzin our first historian, not them. Is it not because he was the first to relate Russian history in a lively, concise, precise, and colorful language?

But Pushkin held Karamzin in high regard not only for his excellent style. Here is what he wrote upon publication of the first eight volumes of "History": "...People flocked to read the history of their homeland. It was a new discovery for them. Old Russia, it seemed, had been discovered by Karamzin, just as America had been discovered by Columbus."



And when N. Polevoy, in his "Istoriya russkogo naroda" [History of the Russian People], dared "attack," to use Pushkin's expression, "History of the Russian State," the poet resolutely and hotly sprang to the defense of Karamzin. Pushkin held that an indisputable virtue of his "History" "lies in a learned bringing together of traditions, in an incisive search for the truth, in a clear and faithful portrayal of events. There is not a single era, not a single important event which has not been satisfactorily developed by Karamzin."

Pushkin constantly refers to Karamzin in his journal articles, calling him a "great man" and "one of our great fellow citizens," and characterizing his "History" as an "enormous work" or "his immortal work." And the following statement he made is more complete and quite definite, permitting no false interpretations: "History of the Russian State is not only the work of a great writer but also the accomplishment of an honest man."

But then how about the epigram? This is most likely a question which A. Chizhov, plus others as well, have long wanted to ask.

But let us recall that the epigram is a satirical genre. And this means that as a rule not the virtues of a given author and his works but rather something quite the opposite serves as the point of departure for an epigram. As we know, Karamzin was an advocate of enlightened absolutism. He was for monarchy, "softened by enlightenment." Attempting to influence the czar, he twice (in 1811 and 1819) presented him with "notes," in which he subjected the government to sharp criticism, declaring that "Russia is filled with discontent," and that the government had yielded power to the governors -- "dolts" or "robbers." Both the first and second attempt to "enlighten" the czar were without success, merely evoking irritation. Nevertheless even after this Karamzin continued to hold his former abstract-utopian views. Failing to share these views, Pushkin, with his characteristic brilliance and wit, ridiculed in his epigram Karamzin's monarchic notions.

In that case, however, does he not contradict himself, calling Karamzin a great man and his "History" an "immortal work"? Not at all. Pushkin did not share Karamzin's political views, but the 12 volumes of his "History" are dedicated not to the exposition of these views! They are dedicated to presentation of our country's history, to a clear and faithful portrayal of historical events. Otherwise why would Pushkin read and reread Karamzin if on every page of his "History" the author "argued" the "need for autocracy"? And in particular, why would the Decembrists Ryleev and Mikhail Bestuzhev request that the "History of the Russian State" be sent to them in the casemates of the Fortress of Peter and Paul? Do you think that they, who had raised their hand against the czar, were interested in reading, while waiting to be executed, Karamzin's "arguments" about the need for autocracy?

The task of this letter does not include a detailed examination of the views of Karamzin or an appraisal of his historical work. As one can see, the point is something else altogether. The point is that for many years now we have been playing Karamzin -- with whom? -- with Pushkin, with a zeal worthy of better application. We interminably cite his one negative description and pretend that we do not know about dozens of positive or, more correctly put,

enthusiastic statements about Karamzin. We do not wish to take note of the fact that in some of them he is even quite insistent: for example, "I repeat that "History of the Russian State" is not only the work of a great writer but also the accomplishment of an honest man." Pushkin keeps repeating it, but we nevertheless do not hear it and do not wish to hear it!

I am not sure whether A. Chizhov has read Karamzin's "History." No, it is certainly not my intention to accuse him of ignorance (in the sense of lack of knowledge) or lack of interest in our country's history. The matter is much simpler than that. The fact is that it is not possible to read this outstanding work by our first historiographer, no matter how much we might want to, for the simple reason that we have not printed a single edition in the last 60 years or more. You can't travel to the Lenin Library from Ryazhsk, and even if you live in Moscow you can't keep running over to the library: after all, there are 12 volumes....

I do not propose to judge the reasons for such casual neglect of this great work by our great fellow Russian, but one might assume that one of the reasons is this one-sided and very fervent citing of Pushkin, which we have been discussing above.

Interest in our country's history is growing year by year, and this is a good sign! There is also growing interest in our first historiographer. A book has been written about him by Ye. I. Osetrov, an expert on Russian history and publishing in early Russia, and now a book has been written by N. Ya. Eydel'man. It is natural that, alongside interest in the person of this famous writer and historian, there is also growing interest in his celebrated work. Is it not high time to offer it to our reader?

Just as Pushkin did not share Karamzin's views, we materialists most decidedly do not share the views of thinkers professing an idealist philosophy. We subject idealist philosophy to merciless criticism, and we totally demolish the notions of the idealist philosophers. However, in recent years there have been published in this country a great many single-volume and multivolume collections of the writings of idealists of every stripe and hue, from Plato to Hegel and Kant. And incidentally, these books, in spite of large press runs, are not gathering dust on the bookstore shelves; these books are being read. And nobody would even think of stating the apprehension that those who read these books might become imbued with idealist philosophy or change from materialists into idealists.

In my opinion it is equally foolish to fear that by reading Karamzin's historical work our intelligent, solidly-grounded reader will become imbued with his naive, utopian views. The reader's attention will be captured by portraits of Russian history painted by the brush of a magnificent artist of the word. And he will become imbued with a strong feeling of love and respect for the deeds of his forebears, by a lofty and radiant feeling of patriotism.

REGIONAL

TURKMEN CP CC BURO ON ECONOMY, IDEOLOGY IN ART

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 29 Jun 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Central Committee Buro of the Turkmen Communist Party]

[Text] At its regular session the Central Committee Buro of the Turkmen Communist Party reviewed the topic of the work of the party's Ashkhabad gorkom to improve the creative and sociopolitical activity of arts intellectuals in the light of the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 12th Congress of the Turkmen Communist Party.

The Central Committee Buro noted that in carrying out the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, and of the June (1983) and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and in the propositions and conclusions contained in the speeches of Comrade K.U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the gorkom and the party raykoms in the city of Ashkhabad have accomplished considerable work to improve the creative and sociopolitical activity of arts intellectuals and their role in the communist indoctrination of workers and to mobilize the masses for successful fulfillment of the plans of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

However, the Ashkhabad gorkom and party raykoms have not been deeply enough involved in the activities of creative unions and arts enterprises and their party organizations in the light of the requirements of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and have not had much influence over creative activity, over increasing the responsibility of the capital's masters of culture for the ideological and artistic quality of works produced, or over improvement of ideological and indoctrinational work among arts intellectuals.

The Ashkhabad gorkom and party gorraykoms have not taken enough part in improving the party organizational work of the primary party organizations of creative unions and enterprises. There are many shortcomings in organizing party instruction and in Komsomol and economic education in the city's creative organizations; the necessary attention has not been devoted to training, placing and indoctrinating arts intellectual personnel; and the life and activities of creative unions and enterprises and their primary party organizations have not been adequately covered in the city's newspaper VECHERNIY ASHKHABAD.

The Central Committee Buro has obligated the gorkom and the party gorraykoms to take steps aimed at improving the responsibility of creative intellectuals for the ideological and artistic level of works produced, to strengthen ties with the life of the people and labor collectives, and to increase their contribution to the communist indoctrination of the workers.

The Buro discussed the work of the Ministries of the Light and Cotton-Ginning Industries and of the Republic Committee of the Trade Union of Employees of the Textile and Light Industries to disseminate advanced experience and the initiatives approved by the CPSU Central Committee.

The Buro noted that enterprises of the republic's light and cotton-ginning industries have accomplished considerable work in adopting advanced experience and initiatives. These matters are constantly in the field of view of the collegiums of the ministries, of the Republic Committee of the industry's trade union, and of local party and trade union agencies. Scientific-technical seminars are held regularly, as well as meetings of outstanding production workers and instructors of the young, and demonstrations and competitions of labor skills.

The enterprises of the light and cotton-ginning industries have made wide use of the initiative of the Zarya Sotsializma Flax Combine of Yarovslavsk Oblast to ensure an increase in production in the 11th Five-Year Plan by increasing labor productivity without increasing the number of workers, and of the initiative of the country's enterprises to increase labor productivity by one percent and to reduce the production cost of output by 0.5 percent, and they are taking an active part in the socialist competition to play a worthy part in the 60th anniversary of the formation of the TuSSR and the establishment of the Turkmen Communist Party.

However, the level of effort in these ministries and in the Republic Committee of the industry's trade union still does not meet the requirements of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

In a number of enterprises they have not yet gotten rid of a formal attitude toward disseminating specific initiatives, and they do not always determine the effectiveness of them, or devote the necessary attention to publicity and visual aids.

The Ministries of the Light and Cotton-Ginning Industries and the Republic Committee of the industry's trade union have been ordered to take additional steps to ensure the dissemination of advanced experience and initiatives aimed at improving the quality of industrial output and consumer goods, and the work efficiency of all the industry's enterprises.

Other topics reviewed were progress in carrying out plans for the production and procurement of grain, fodder and animal produce in Mary Oblast, and steps to improve the economy of kolkhozes in Gasan-Kuli and Kyzyl-Artek rayons. Appropriate resolutions were adopted.

The Central Committee Buro of the Turkmen Communist Party also discussed a number of other matters of importance to party policy and the national economy.

Appropriate resolutions were adopted on the matters reviewed, and specific steps were indicated for carrying them out.

12697

CSO: 1830/570

## REGIONAL

### TURKMEN SEMINAR ON REDUCING GOVERNMENT COSTS

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 26 Jun 84 p 1

[Article: "Improving the Managerial Component"]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 25 Jun (TURKMENINFORM). A republic conference has been held here on the topic of improving and reducing the cost of the managerial component in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the December 1983 and April 1984 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. Invited to it were the directors of ministries, departments, oblispolkoms and the Ashkhabad gorispolkom of the Councils of People's Deputies, the chiefs of structural units and statistical and finance agencies involved in estimating and staffing work, and chief bookkeepers.

Kh. Sukhanov, minister of finance of the Turkmen SSR presented a report.

It was noted in the report and the speeches that considerable work has been accomplished in the republic in recent years to improve the economic mechanism and improve the forms and methods of managing industry, agriculture and construction. A number of steps have been taken to further limit growth in the number of personnel in the managerial component and improve its structure, and work has been accomplished to reduce superfluous and overlapping units. There have been established in the republic 19 industrial production associations which account for 25 percent of the total volume of industrial production; 3 construction and installation associations (28 percent of the total of contract jobs); 5 for transportation (21 percent of shipments); and 7 for personal services, which have performed more than a third of all personal services. Seven associations in the public utilities sector have also given a good account of themselves.

In conformity with a decision of the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the management of the agro-industrial complex has been reorganized, resulting in a considerable reduction in the managerial component. This has yielded savings of more than 700,000 rubles.

However, as noted at the conference, there still remains much to be done to further improve the structure of the managerial component, reduce expenditures on it, improve management by industry and by territory, and increase the role of the Councils of People's Deputies in building up the economy.

It was noted at the conference that certain executives of ministries, departments and Council ispokloms have been slow to react to the comments of finance agencies and have permitted an expansion and increase in the cost of the managerial component.

Gosplan, the ministries and departments and the ispolkoms of the Councils of People's Deputies are to improve the management structure of industries, take steps to amalgamate enterprises and organizations and to eliminate duplication of effort and superfluous managerial units.

The TuSSR Ministry of Finance and the Committee of People's Control are to strengthen the control and accountability of executives for redundancy in the makeup of the managerial component and especially of the central managerial components of ministries and departments.

V.T. Shirnyuk, Member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Finance, spoke at the conference.

Ch. S. Karryyev, Member of the Central Committee Buro of the Turkmen Communist Party and Chairman of the TuSSR Council of Ministers, gave a speech at the conference.

Recommendations were adopted.

Taking part in the conference were N.V. Makarkin and G.S. Mishchenko, Members of the Central Committee Buro of the Turkmen Communist Party, and M.G. Shmidt, Deputy Chairman of the TuSSR Council of Ministers.

12697

CSO: 1830/570

## REGIONAL

### AZERBAIJAN CP CC BURO DISCUSSES ECONOMIC, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 29 Apr 84 p 1

[Article: "In the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At the regular session of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Buro a plan of first priority organizational-political and propagandistic measures for the realization of the decisions of the April (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and of the positions and conclusions that were contained in the speech of the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary comrade K.U. Chernenko was approved.

In light of the problems presented by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo which analyzed the speed of fulfilling the state plan of economic and social development of the country with regard to the results of the work in the first quarter of the current year, the achievements of the development of the economy of the republic in the first quarter were examined and the measures for the further strengthening of the work directed at the rapid fulfillment of the economic and social development plans of Azerbaijan for 1984 were noted.

In the adopted decree it was noted that the workers of the republic, having put into practice the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, of the December (1983), February and April (1984) Plenums of the Party's Central Committee and the directions contained in the speeches of the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, comrade K.U. Chernenko, maintained in the first quarter the subsequent dynamic development of the economy and the improvement of its qualitative indicators. The increase of industrial production was 5.1 percent against the 4.5 percent annual goal. The plan for the realization of the industrial production was fulfilled by 102 percent. The direction of the Party for maintaining the above-plan increase of labor productivity of 1 percent and the additional lowering of the production cost by 0.5 percent was successfully put into practice. On the whole, the correct relationship was formed between the increase of labor productivity and the average wage. In comparison with the corresponding period last year the relative share of enterprises that did not celebrate the growth goal of magnitude of production, the realization of products with regard to deliveries, with the goal of labor productivity, significantly decreased. The goal of output of



products of a higher order of quality was raised. Enterprises of the electro-technical industry that worked under experimental economic conditions completed the quarter with good technical-economic indicators.

Workers of the village, in spite of the complex weather conditions, organizationally carried out the spring field work and completed the wintering of the cattle. More was sold to the state than for a corresponding period last year, cattle and fowl by 11 percent, milk by 4 percent and eggs by 6 percent.

Building organizations improved their work and the volume of capital investment grew. The goals for transporting economic shipments, for retail commodities and for the amount of providing everyday services for the population were fulfilled.

In spite of this, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Buro noted that in the economy the republics continue to have shortages, bottlenecks and omissions. Not all party, soviet and economic organs exhibit the necessary persistence and consistency in resolving problems of the intensification of production, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the raising of efficiency and work quality. Of 91 goals in the field of scientific-technical progress and in the introduction of the achievements of science and technology into the economy, only 76, or 83.5 percent, were fulfilled. Some enterprises did not fulfill the plan according to such an important indicator as the growth of labor productivity, and also according to the agreed obligation for delivery of products, the lowering of production cost, the economy of resources.

In the first quarter, 44 production associations and enterprises did not fulfill the plan for the sale of products. The goal for the production of a series of the most important kinds of products was not fulfilled. Many building organizations worked below their potential. Deficiencies continue to be found in the work of the branches of the agro-industrial complex, etc.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Buro emphasized that existing deficiencies for the most part are the result of the fact that party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, primary party organizations are slowly reconsidering the methods of party leadership by the activity of the ministries, departments, associations and enterprises, that they devote little attention to the disclosure and use of additional resources of production, to the introduction of new progressive forms of organization and labor motivation, to the raising of the responsibility of economic leaders for the state of the governmental, planning and labor discipline, to the creation of the necessary effort in work.

The obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the party, leaders of ministries, departments, associations and production enterprises, agriculture, building and other branches of the economy must analyze deeply and from all sides the achievements of fulfilling the plans of the first quarter and following the decisions of the February and April CPSU Central Committee

Plenums, the positions and conclusions contained in the speeches of comrade K.U. Chernenko, to develop and implement organizational-political, economic, organizational-technical measures for the removal of the reasons that restrain the growth of production volume, the growth of its efficiency, the improvement of economic activity. In the second quarter the deficiencies that were permitted must be corrected, and additional possibilities for the further raising of the rate of economic development must be found. The task is to maintain the unconditional fulfilling and overfulfilling of the plans and socialist obligations accepted for 1984.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Buro accepted the decree about the measures for the strengthening of control over the course of building the most important objects of the industrial, agricultural and social assignments. In the decree it was noted that the rates of their installation have been strengthened, the goals of the first quarter of the current year for capital investments and system installation works had been fulfilled.

Analyzing the state of affairs in light of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum and the meetings in the party's Central Committee on the questions of capital investment, held in April of this year, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee noted that human and material-technical resources were not concentrated to a sufficient degree at all the most important construction projects, that at many of these production was unsatisfactorily organized, that political-education work in workers collectives was at a low level. It was suggested that party and soviet organs take actual measures for the removal of the deficiencies in the construction of the most important individual objects, that they develop and implement a series of measures directed at the mobilization of the efforts of labor collectives for the timely introduction into operation of all planned objects and capacities.

In the decree of the measures for the speeding up of building and the timely introduction into operation of the railway line Evlakh-Belokan, the Central Committee Buro emphasized that the railway has an exceptionally important significance for the economic and social development of the Sheki-Zakatal'skiy zones. Thanks to the measures accepted by party, soviet and economic organs for 1981-1983 in the building of the railway line more than 21 million rubles of building-installing work, or 109.6 percent of the plan was fulfilled and operational traffic was opened on a 47-kilometer stretch from the Evlakh station to the Suchma station. Having noted that at the same time there were serious deficiencies in construction, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee obliged the appropriate building, transport, and other organizations, party committees to take concrete measures for their removal, to maintain the introduction into operation of the entire Evlakh-Belokan line in 1985.

12596

CSO: 1830/474

## REGIONAL

### MEMBER OF GEORGIAN PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT ON 'INFORMATION'

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 5, May 84 (signed to press 9 Apr 84) pp 18-23

[Article by Nugzar Endeladze, chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Georgian CP Central Committee (Tbilisi): "The 'Pilots' Also Must Learn"]

[Text] Journalists joke: we create cliches in order to combat them. And journalism itself, alas, has not escaped a popular comparison: they liken the system of mass information to a shoreless ocean.

The "ocean" cliché, apart from other things, errs in the direction of inaccuracy. Scales are scales, but the "shoreless ocean" of mass information has clearly defined shores and territorial waters; while the drops of this ocean contrary to the proverb are not like each other as two drops of water.

However, there are also arguments in favor of the comparison. The ocean, as is known, is an element. And since such a comparison fell "on the tooth," I would say that spontaneity is also inherent in an element only a first glance. Everything develops and is organized according to laws which are known to science. In the example with information it is according to the laws of social development.

The need for selection arose long ago, when the social purpose of the exchange of information was still just being defined and the experience of its purposeful influence was forming. Its principles naturally reflected the goals and tasks of a specific social system. Just as they reflect them to this day.

If in respect to the periodic press one takes as the criterion of professional evaluation its competitive ability, in the capitalist countries it, apart from other things, is founded on a material basis: trade in communication and the fact is successful only on the condition of their extraordinary nature. Information in this case acts as a commodity.

Is competition present in our press? It is necessary, if one means by this creative competition, which is based on efficiency, the search for forms of the presentation of material and professionalism. At the same time, the newspaper, which follows most comprehensively and constructively Lenin's principle of publicity and which establishes contacts with the reader most productively and meets his demands, is prestigious and authoritative.

But who should be the pilot in this stormy sea? And how is one to sail the caravels, which are loaded with information, without losses and by the shortest route to the designated goal?

The actualization of the press in our country is connected with the practical tasks which face us on the path of the development and improvement of the social organism.

In the early 1970's the demand beyond the republic for our ZARYA VOSTOKA, which is published in Russian, increased unexpectedly sharply. This was simply explained: the republic party organization, in carrying out the requirements of the well-known decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the Tbilisi Party Committee, in its reliance on the masses adopted the publicity of the decisions being made and appealed to the working people on all vitally important problems through the press, television and radio of the republic. Each issue was saturated with criticism, moreover, in address to executives of the most diverse levels and ranks.

The press, television and radio of the republic, while covering the process of reorganization, naturally, reorganized themselves. Precisely during those years PRAVDA in the article "Through the Prism of the Times" critically examined the activity of the republic press, having noted the need to participate more actively in the economic, social, political, moral and psychological processes taking place in the republic.

In practice this meant a search for new means of influencing public consciousness. Only an active position, a position of intolerance toward shortcomings and publicity in the identification and eradication of negative displays in combination with the affirmation of positive examples and active civic spirit solved the problem.

And at this stage the problem of the coordination of all this work and, consequently, of efficient party supervision of the means of mass information arose with new urgency.

In the process of all this work the primary requirements are formulated: the adjustment of the system of conducting long-term campaigns already at the stage of thematic planning; the precise coordination of the themes with the tasks and prospects of the economic, social and cultural development of the republic; the constructiveness of the approach to the analysis of events, phenomena and the actions being taken, including in critical statements; and, finally, the active, systematized, scientific consideration of public opinion for the purposes of the optimum utilization in editorial work of the mechanism of "feedback": the audience--the organ of information.

Within such organizational activity the most diverse directions are detected. For example, the drafting of goal programs of the ideological support of especially urgent socioeconomic issues. No matter how convincing the economic conclusions, say, about the Abasha and Poti experiments seemed, the very idea should have matured in the public consciousness, which required purposeful organizational and explanatory work. Such was the case when it was a question

of the increase of the prestige of the occupation of metallurgist, the prevention of offenses and international education.

However, when directing and instructing, one should also bear in mind that efficiency and the desired end result are possible only in case of the combination of joint efforts. Therefore we as if share with the editorial offices the responsibility for effectiveness, understanding that the possibilities of editorial offices have a definite limit. The tendency on the part of a number of ministries, departments and institutions to gloss over critical statements of the press, television and radio was also observed in our republic. Frequently the statements of the central press were also left without proper, detailed reaction.

Now the buro of the Central Committee on our presentation examines the facts of the glossing over of the criticism, which has been expressed on the pages of the republic and central press. Those guilty of untimely and impractical reaction bear strict party responsibility. An efficient system of the monitoring of reaction to critical statements has been set up. Last year not one critical statement was left without a response.

Having dwelt in such detail on this and a number of other features, I want to stress one, in our opinion, important detail: efficiency, effectiveness in the work of the means of mass information is not only a question of the prestige of one specific organ of information or another; this is a question of the authority and effectiveness of all our political work, which is formed of these here kinds of details.

For the reader, the television viewer and the radio listener a problem being constructively examined, its interpretation and interested discussion, so to speak, for all to hear, publicly are a fact, which in itself already has a social value and, hence, bears an educational load. The moral meaningfulness of information also consists in this. The public, thus, is becoming an active participant in control, no matter to what, be it even a narrowly specialized, question the theme of the discussion was attributed.

It is all the more important to take this circumstance into account when it is a question of facts and problems, which lie in the sphere of the immediate interests of the population, say, personal service or consumption.

Thus, the "three whales" are the interpretation of the fact, effectiveness and publicity. The first of them is utterly and completely the professional prerogative of the journalists' shop. In the next to last issue of ZHURNALIST for last year Teymuraz Stepanov, the director of our information agency, devoted his notes to the role of the fact, which has been selected skillfully and opportunely from the flood of information. Moreover, in our opinion, interpreting the problem of the fact in an original manner, with a healthy amount of polemic sharpness, he "united" it with the problem of publicity. "Publicity," the author notes in this connection, "is the closest relative of information." I catch myself wanting to elaborate: not a relative, but a forefather, for information finds its social status only by being published and committed to publicity.

In the same article T. Stepanov touches in passing on the example of the cooperation of information services with the Center for the Study and Forecasting of Public Opinion, which operates here. The point of connection of these two types of ideological activity lies once again on the level of the problem of publicity and concerns the party management of or simply the assistance of the organs of mass information.

To start with a few words about our above-mentioned center, since it makes sense to dwell in more detail on its activity.

Back in 1975 the Council of Public Opinion was set up under the auspices of the Georgian CP Central Committee. While in 1982 the Center for the Study and Forecasting of Public Opinion was formed on the basis of the council as a scientific advisory organ attached to the Georgian CP Central Committee.

The basic purpose of the center is the analysis of the public opinion of various groups of the population on the problems of the socioeconomic, political and cultural life of the republic. The results of the studies with scientifically sound recommendations are submitted to the Georgian CP Central Committee. From the first steps of its activity this subdivision turned to the practice of the republic newspapers, conducting a special survey of various categories of readers. The questionnaire, which was formulated at that time, posed modest goals: to determine and classify the degree of interests with respect to some section of the newspaper or other, its headings, that is, what is more "readable" and why. The editorial offices drew specific conclusions for themselves.

But it is more important that this first action immediately inculcated in republic journalism a taste for sociological methods. In any case, immediately after this a special laboratory for the study of the opinion of television viewers was formed in Georgian television.

About 70 sociological studies, during which the opinion of 48,000 workers, 32,000 employees, 18,000 kolkhoz farmers, 16,000 undergraduates, 12,000 students, 5,000 retirees and 4,000 housewives was studied, have been conducted during the existence of the center. In all 220,000 letters of the working people have also been examined by the center.

In themselves statistics testify to nothing, if it is not taken into account that the corresponding document, which includes specific evaluation criteria, was drawn up with respect to each direction of the studies, which, moreover, in the majority of cases were conducted on the instructions of the Central Committee. In precisely this way the suggestions of the working people and their generalized experience were the basis for many important decisions and measures.

Prominent scientists and authoritative specialists, who specify and examine the long-range directions and approve the methods of work, became members of the presidium of the center. This is how Academician Aleksandr Prangishvili, chairman of the presidium of the center and director of the Scientific



Research Institute of Psychology of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, appraises the urgency of this work:

It is well-known that in the process of social development both the psychology of separate individuals and the psychology of one social group or another and all of society change. It is so mobile that it requires constant observation and study. Moreover, management implies directed influence. But for people, and sometimes also entire groups of people it is not always simple to understand the socioeconomic processes taking place around them. Individual and public opinion differ from each other not that rarely. All this requires organized explanatory, more over very efficient, work.

Such an opinion is based on a clear party instruction: "Unexpected turns of events happen. Just as unexpected questions arise," K. U. Chernenko said in a report at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "And it is necessary to be able to concentrate scientific forces on them in time."

Here we have approached another function of the center, namely efficient, open, scientifically sound participation in the explanation of questions, around which diverse, frequently contradictory opinions arise. This will make it possible to eliminate the shortage of information, which gives rise to idle talk, an erroneous, and at times biased opinion and different kinds of rumors.

The staff of the center controls the situation and is capable of determining best, precisely what requires immediate reaction. By enlisting specialists from competent instances, it helps to carry out clarification through the channels of mass information.

To a certain extent we regard this work as a practical response to the task which was posed by the June (1983) Plenum. An open dialogue with the population of urgent problems of social life is necessary, and this was discussed exhaustively in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work."

Thus the heading "The Question Should Not Be Left Unanswered" occupied a firm place on the pages of the republic press, thus the Dialog Television Studio and many other forms of access to public opinion, which activate "feedback," originated.

The collection "S uchetom obshchestvennogo mneniya" [With Allowance Made for Public Opinion], which was prepared by the center last year and in which the experience of the center and the press in this direction is concentrated, in our opinion, is a kind of mirror of all this work.

There is, it seems to me, reason to comment briefly on this booklet for the illustration of the work which has been done.

The collection consists of several sections. "Dialogues," which were prepared by the center jointly with the editorial office of the newspaper KOMUNISTI and Georgian Television, are published in the first of them. Current problems found reflection in these materials. Ministers, prominent scientists, writers, party and soviet workers, production leaders and authoritative

people, to whose opinion the public of the republic listens, take part in the "Dialogues."

Materials on general problematic issues are put together in the second section—"Public Opinion: Facts, Judgments, Repercussions." The data obtained as a result of the study of public opinion were submitted to executives of the ministries and departments of the republic for comment. Their comments make it possible to judge, what the state of affairs is in one sector or another, what problems have not been solved and what steps are being taken by one or another ministry and department for their solution; that is, a form of the efficient reporting of executives back to the public was formed.

The center is carefully studying and classifying the questions, which worry the population most and are received through various channels by party and soviet organs. Taking into account the importance of the proper interpretation of the phenomena taking place in our life, the center jointly with the republic information agency considered it expedient to publish periodically detailed answers to these questions. The materials, which were published under the heading "The Question Should Not Remain Unanswered," make up the third section of the collection.

Modern social life is placing on the agenda questions, the answers to which are required without delay. The center jointly with Georgian Television systematically publishes materials under the heading "A Topical Interview." Executives of ministries, departments, organizations and institutions give responses and explanations promptly on the screen to the questions of television viewers. A portion of these interviews is given in the fourth section of the collection.

And, finally, satirical articles, which were written on the basis of materials of the center and were published in the republic press, are brought together in the fifth section. During the study of public opinion we frequently encounter idle talk, disinformation and biased opinions. And the genre of satire has become the best weapon in the combating of displays of this sort.

Specifically what questions have been raised by the center through the press and television? These are the progress of the entrance examinations to higher educational institutions, the condition of market prices, economic experiments, the antisocial activity of anonymous persons and the work of municipal services. In short, the thematic range is quite broad.

It remains to be added that the appearance of the emblem of the center on the pages of newspapers and on the screen of the television, judging from the same surveys, is waited for impatiently. The annual collection of the center "Otkrovennyy dialog" [An Open Dialogue], which contains competent answers to the most characteristic questions which worry the population, does not lie a long time on the counters of bookstores.

I foresee a question: But were the orientation and formation of public opinion and the open discussion of topical problems, which are of broad interest, always included in the direct duties of the press, television and



radio? Is that how one should create some other superstructure, in other words, does journalism need such a "nurse"?

The doubt is quite understandable. Soviet journalism has experience of long standing and abundant experience in lively contact with the masses, since the press in our country is the tribune of public opinion. And the editorial mail fully reflects even what concerns strategic questions, as we say, the topic of the day. The practice of the thematic classification of correspondence has also formed here, and the plans of work in many ways are based on the letters which have arrived at the editorial office.

The whole point is that our innovation in no way deprives the editorial office of initiative. Moreover, it merely stimulates it. But the main thing is that if one is speaking of the centralized process of management, here the coordination of directions takes place, so that every editorial office could carry on its own theme.

Moreover, the center has more extensive opportunities for the gathering and processing of information. Having a branched network of its own subdivisions locally, it is informed of the state of affairs in one sphere of another and of the situation in one region or another. Its laboratories conduct special-purpose studies on the most diverse problems.

By accumulating public opinion in this way, the center obtains the opportunity to select the most characteristic questions or opinions, which express the common interest. And its possibilities in the classification and selection of what is typical are incomparably greater than those of the editorial office. Here a scientific staff is concentrated, a system of analysis and generalizations on the basis of the achievements of sociology has been developed, experienced specialists cooperate.

Publicity, by strengthening the authority of the press, thereby also influences its effectiveness.

However, having intensified the attention to man and having posed the task to respond directly and openly to all questions, including urgent questions, which for the most part were frequently glossed over in the recent past, it was necessary to do away with the stereotypes in consciousness, when even a rather good manager did not consider it necessary "to wash his dirty linen in public."

Regular reports of executives of ministries and departments in the press and on television according to a precise plan, which was approved by a decision of the Central Committee, were organized for the increase of publicity in the work of the republic ministries and departments on the fulfillment of the national economic plans, the timely formation of positive public opinion and the proper orientation of the masses. This, undoubtedly, contributed to the increase of the responsibility of executives of various levels of the national economy and the promotion of positive experience and was an effective factor of public control, as well as a kind of reaction to the critical materials, which are published in the press and are broadcast over television and radio. An interesting form of the report of executives over television, "The

Television Waiting Room," which encompassed practically the entire group of questions which interest television viewers, thus originated. Questions were posed on the basis of their suggestions.

"The Waiting Room" did not come to an end with this. Television returned to the examined questions in the form of a commentary of the television viewer to the report of the executive; it was ascertained, whether the broadcast satisfied the viewers, and if not, why.

Any immediate tasks, which determine the possibilities of information influence, in other words, the achievement of a higher quality and effectiveness of ideological work, require for their accomplishment greater systematicness and scientificness in the forecasting of the goal and the determination of the optimum means of their achievement.

The solution of these problems again and again comes down to the level of executive skill. Today in the press and on television and radio a person, who is not simply provided with the corresponding information, but is called upon to develop on the basis of specific material ideological, political and social aims, to analyze value criteria and to firmly establish lofty civic, moral qualities, to orient the working people in the thick of events and to prompt them to active work, should play the role of a propagandist and organizer.

For if you agree that the fact is the basic construction material for the journalist, from "bricks" of facts it is possible to build different things--everything depends on the ability of the builder and on what tasks have been set for him.

At least two problems are visible here. The first one is competence.

I do not know whether this is a common process, but from our experience I judge that, in spite of the intensifying specialization in all fields of knowledge, journalism has suddenly been drawn again to such universalism. I want to say that the type of journalist who is an expert in his business, which formed at one time, that is, a person to whom public trust was opened owing to his competence and authority in the problems being covered, has begun to be leveled.

The omnivorousness, apparently, is not from "the good life"--there is difficulty with personnel, especially in the local press. But the problem remains--precisely the problem of competence. And since you will not escape it, one should, in my opinion, think about the possibilities of the specialization of personnel already at the stage of education or at least during the improvement of skills. I know that discussions on this theme are being conducted in creative journalistic organizations. But the popular themes of satirists, say, on the poor interviewer, who with a serious air inquires of the person being interviewed "where does the Volga flow to?" are not decreasing.

Jokes are jokes, but many problems are arising here: there is the competent interpretation of scientific knowledge; the ability to look at social, national economic problems with the eyes of those whom they directly concern,

there is the professional self-censorship of the journalist and the ability to communicate in journalism not only as a property of the professional cast of character, but also as a property which is based on a knowledge of the subject; there is, finally, a creatively personal presence in the material, which can occur only in case of a certain level of penetration of the problem.

When the work of a journalist proves to be inefficient and misses its aim, the problem frequently comes down to the level of executive skill, by which we mean the ability to penetrate the essence of the question being raised, to determine the cause-effect relations of one phenomenon or another, to construct in a well thought-out manner a system of proof and a system of persuasion and to choose the appropriate form of the conveyance of the material.

There is also another extreme. I will explain using an example. For example, several organs of the press have assumed the sponsorship of newspapers over especially important construction projects, start-up projects and industrial and agricultural production, have engaged, so to speak, pragmatically and conscientiously in economic computations, the analysis of engineering and technical support and technological recommendations. Having become absorbed in production problems proper, the journalists forgot the main thing: their mission consists not in the replacement of specialists, that the newspaper or television is not a means of economic instruction, but a lever of the identification of organizational, moral and human reserves, which analyze and cultivate spirit and conviction, a means of the study of the social mechanism of our achievements and oversights and the approach to the accomplishment of the tasks. Indeed, the party requires of the organs of mass information the ideological support of labor productivity and the increase of quality and requires that the problems of production collectives be investigated, but this should be done by journalism's own forms and methods, the forms and methods which are characteristic of journalism.

The fulfillment of official duty, the moral aspects of labor interrelations, the human and organizational reserves of productivity, the system of value criteria--these are the prerogative of journalistic analysis.

And there is a second problem. Even in case of a most efficient and adjusted system of the centralized management of the organs of mass information the effectiveness and quality of their work depend to a decisive extent on who directly manages this work.

At one time the expression editor-in-chief was current. At one time newspapers were also signed in this way: "editor-in-chief so and so."

The title of the position was shortened, the responsibility, very likely, increased. In any case, the reader today correctly identifies the opinion, which is expressed on the pages of a newspaper or journal, with the opinion of the organ which the given newspaper or journal represents.

We were guided by these considerations when after a careful analysis we proposed to hear in the secretariat and buro of the Central Committee the reports of the editors of the newspapers--G. Bedineishvili of KOMUNISTI and N.

Cherkezishvili of ZARYA VOSTOKA. At the discussion it was a question mainly of the practice of thematic planning, in which future successes and failures are already being incorporated. But both the reports themselves and the decisions adopted in accordance with these reports became documents, which generalized the trends and specified the measures of the increase of the efficiency of the management of the work of the means of mass information and propaganda of the republic.

A person, who not only has the appropriate organizing experience, is performing today the role of the organizer of editorial work. He forms and accumulates collective thought, specifies the directions and in practice programs efficiency.

For this it is already entirely inadequate today to know the newspaper trade. It is necessary to know the forms and methods of influencing the masses and to be able to use modern scientific means of studying the efficiency of information and propaganda work.

The psychology and sociology of propaganda and the recommendations of the sciences in this area should not lie about in the archives of the Higher Certification Commission or on the library shelves of scientific research institutions. But how to force theory to serve practice is, it seems, the theme of a special discussion, to which our ZHURNALIST is capable of inviting specialists.

And there is another thing. What is the "character" of an organ of information? For special attention is devoted to this in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work." There have been interesting publications on this theme on the pages of ZHURNALIST.

And still I am asking myself this question again not without reason. Precisely in the context of the discussion of the participation of party organs in the formation of this very "character."

It is clear that the character of a newspaper is its credo, its style and, as a consequence, public authority. In the official sense of the word the profile of the newspaper is outlined by the framework of departmental or regional affiliation. A "party" is a "party," the rayon newspaper should be a mirror of its rayon, the factory newspaper lives by the concerns of the enterprise, institution and so on, which publish it. All this is well-known, lest one would say elementary.

But you will dig deeply, and questions arise again. For example, the oblast and city newspapers, which are published in our republic, have their own definite specific nature. How do we imagine this specific nature or, so to speak, typology of the regional press? The requirement to seek its own forms and its own character also remains in force here. But current practice sets, however, its own conditions. Here for a starter is one of them: the oblast newspaper is published by the oblast party committee, by local state and governmental organs (in our republic, in the Abkhaz ASSR, the Adzhar ASSR, the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast, there are eight such newspapers), and this

means that the official organ of the press reports to the readers first of all official information, which is connected with the activity of local directive organs and organs of local government in the interests of the observance of the same publicity in their work; but it is obliged also to report to its audience information of a republic scale, which is sent through the channels of the information agency; it prints all the materials of TASS, which are mandatory for publication. In some issues of the oblast newspapers such material occupies up to 80 percent of the space. Plus announcements, reports and others. So that there are, let us state frankly, very few opportunities for "its own character."

Remembering one of the commandments of journalism, that, they say, it is incorrect to pose a problem without proposing its solution, I will try to defend myself. At our level we are striving to limit official information, are thinking about how to best differentiate the directions of this flow subject to the needs and possibilities of the addressee and are using for youth, evening and rayon newspapers abridged versions of mandatory reports and announcements.

But since, I am convinced, colleagues from other regions of the country are faced with such a problem, it seems, the need has arisen to introduce certainty, without relying on our "initiative." And not only in these details, if it is a question of a uniform typological character of regional newspapers, which today, unfortunately, copy simultaneously two models--the central and the republic press, and, besides, not in the best manner.

I foresee a reproach: by advocating, they say, diversity and independence and speaking out thereby against the established standard, I am calling for the centralized elaboration of a new routine. It is a question, of course, not of a routine. It is a question of a creative approach to the problem, which we will not be able to analyze and solve without the assistance of the Union of Journalists and university chairs of journalism and, finally, competent recommendations of TASS.

Perhaps, the image of the element, with the discussion of which I began my notes, justifies somewhat their compositional unkemptness.

But if it is serious, the "pilots" must also constantly learn. I have put off self-criticism to the end. At the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of Georgia Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee E. A. Shevardnadze noted that "elements of spontaneity have still been far from eliminated in the work of the means of mass information of the republic."

Of course, this just reproach first of all applied to the organizers, to us. In the past 3 years, unquestionably, much has been done. Including for the systematization of the management of the means of mass information. But recurrences of the old disease appear at times.

Reserves for the further improvement of this work exist. In what do we see them?

Influence is productive, when it is based on interaction, on close working contacts. Here meetings, conferences and generalized fundamental decisions do not count. Other, mobile, especially practical forms are needed.

We would seem to have groped for and found the means to them. I will explain using an example. The task was posed to activate journalistic forces in the work on the prevention of offenses. The evaluations of the press frequently did not agree with the opinion of the representatives of administrative organs--in the positions, the choice of directions and competent, well-reasoned conclusions. We jointly with colleagues from the Administrative Organs Department brought together here executives of newspapers, journals, the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the information agency, journalists who write on legal themes, as well as executives of the procuracy, the court and the Ministry of Justice and jointly decided to set up a working group, in which summaries of operations would be gathered and processed, that is, a picture of the current operational situation was formed, the trends in the dynamics of offenses were determined and recommendations for the immediate future--who is to cover what problem, how and when--were drawn up. Once a quarter in accordance with the statistical and survey analysis, which has been prepared by the sector of the press, the work performed by the organs of mass information is discussed with the participation of all interested instances; the representatives of the administrative organs, in turn, review the publications; here the directions of subsequent activity are specified.

Such a coordinating and control stage completely eliminated the spontaneity of the approach to such an important theme.

But this is only a component of the system. While you would not count the thematic directions, to which journalists should devote attention. And one should hardly carry over such a model, for example, to the problems of cultural construction. Here a different form and a different mechanism are required, a different approach is needed. But it is needed!

Apprehensions may also arise: Are we not squeezing creative principles into the Procrustean bed of systematics, will we not thus make a bureaucracy of journalism and is this not the same notorious guardianship, which was condemned by the well-known decree on ideology and the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum? Probably not. It is a question of the form of the organization of the work and of the form of control, of the systematicness of the program, which we are leaving to experienced journalists to fill with a content--creatively, with a knowledge of the matter.

In any case, it would be interesting to hear the opinion of colleagues on this score. The entire discussion from the lofty professional tribune of the journal is also being conducted for this.

The "pilots" must learn.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda", "Zhurnalist", 1984

7807

CSO: 1830/602



## REGIONAL

### UZBEKISTAN: DISCREPANCIES IN URBAN, RURAL LIFESTYLES

Tashkent KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA in Russian No 6 Jun 84 (signed to press 30 May 84) pp 41-48

[Article by V. Lakhovskaya, candidate of economic sciences: "On the Way to Overcoming the Social Differences Between the City and the Country"]

[Text] Overcoming the significant differences between the city and the country is an important component part of party socio-economic policy directed toward implementing the programmed requirements of building communism. It was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress that this will require a great deal of time, effort and resources. However, this is an objective process; for, as the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum stressed: "In our social development we have now reached the point in history when profound qualitative changes in productive forces and the corresponding perfection of production relationships have not only come to fruition, but have become inevitable."

Mature socialism is creating new conditions for more fully realizing the basic functions of the Soviet state--undeviating improvement in national wellbeing and universal development of the personality, which presages the genuine social equality of all members of society, including both urban and rural residents. The consistent implementation of measures for the social transformation of the rural areas was defined in the USSR Food Program, which was confirmed at the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum as the most important task of party, soviet, economic and trade union authorities.

The most effective direction in this matter is the organization of a unified socio-economic system which unites the productive, economic and social capabilities of the city and the country. Such a system permits: overcoming the isolated nature of the latter, realizing and developing the positive features of the country, providing concentration of resources allocated from various sources for its social development, and creating the prerequisites for achieving equality in working and living conditions.

The basis for the realization of the "city-country" socio-economic system is the change in the social division of labor between them. As is well known, the production system of the city came into being on an industrial base which possesses a high degree of concentration, specialization and socialization of production and labor; whereas at the same time in the country, it was formed on an agricultural base, the capabilities of which were objectively lower in this respect. At the modern stage, there are new

trends in the division of labor between the city and the country, brought about by the necessity for more fully utilizing the potential capabilities of the latter and for improving the territorial distribution of industrial production, and by changes in the needs of the rural residents. These trends are displayed in the increasing multiplicity of functions carried out in the countryside and in the interdependence of industry and agriculture, which is bringing about their integration.

In order to achieve greater proportionality in the distribution of resources between the city and the country, and to achieve the maximum end result, further improvement of their industrial structure is proceeding in the direction of creating a unified structure. A specific example of this is agroindustrial integration, which is being implemented on a national scale on the basis of the National-Economic Agroindustrial Complex [NAPK]. Its organization is giving birth to new trends in further overcoming the differences between the city and the country: accelerated development of productive forces and improved production relationships by means of the interpretation and mutual enrichment of state and kolkhoz-cooperative forms of property; qualitative changes in the nature and content of labor; and, gradual creation of relatively uniform economic conditions and economic-financial relations for all organizations and subdivisions of NAPK, independent of their branch affiliation and form of property. The purposeful development of NAPK is facilitating unification of the agroindustrial subdivisions in the city and in the country as unified production subdivisions.

The changes taking place in the division of labor between the city and the country will lead, as was already noted, to increasing the multiplicity of functions performed in the countryside as, along with the traditional functions--production of horticultural and animal products--there will be ever-increasing development of branches associated with their industrial processing, of small private craft industry, and providing services to the populace. Thanks to this, a number of socio-economic problems will be solved in the rural area: the limited nature of application of labor will be overcome; conditions will be created for assigning cadres and for bringing in additional material and financial resources needed for social transformations; the excessive concentration of industrial enterprises in the cities will decline; and the irrational migration of the rural population will be reduced. Thus, the process of overcoming the socio-economic differences is expressed primarily in the gradual and limited inclusion of agriculture in a unified social process of reproduction.

Increasing the degree of socialization of agroindustrial production, the most important factor of which is its cooperation and combination on the basis of intensified specialization and concentration, has great significance in overcoming the socio-economic differences between the city and the country. The most widespread forms of socialization are the interbranch, interfarm cooperative enterprises and the cooperative-state enterprises, which combine kolkhoz-cooperative property (kolkhozes) with enterprises owned by the state (sovkhozes), as well as interbranch agroindustrial integration of production. At the beginning of 1983, there were 240 interfarm enterprises and organizations in Uzbekistan. Of the total number of participants in them, kolkhozes comprised over 80 per cent, sovkhozes over 18 per cent, and other enterprises about 1.0 per cent. During the period



1970 through 1982, fixed capital at the interfarm enterprises, to include the construction enterprises, increased from 81.4 million rubles to 617.5 million rubles, or by a factor of 7.5. In accordance with the decision of the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, in the future there will be not only intrabranh production cooperation on the basis of farm specialization, but also intensive development of interbranch integration.

Associations, which permit combining territorial and branch management, will become the basic units of the national economic agroindustrial complex. More than 3,000 Regional Agroindustrial Associations [RAPO] have been created in the country at the present time. More than 52,000 kolkhozes and sovkhozes have joined, as well as about 7,500 industrial enterprises, almost 23,000 service organizations, and over 17,000 other enterprises and organizations. As a result the role of regional and administrative-territorial units in solving socio-economic problems has grown; the economic rights of local authorities in developing production on the basis of their own resources have increased; and the possibilities for utilizing the region's production and social potential, and the choice of the most efficient forms and methods of implementing social transformations have increased as well.

Thus, agroindustrial integration is expanding and intensifying the production and economic ties of the city and the country, forming a unified production process--which facilitates increasing the level of socialization of socialist property, convergence of its two basic forms, and transition to a public form of property. This process leads not only toward expanding the scale of combining production resources by virtue of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration, but also toward the growth of the socio-economic maturity of kolkhoz-cooperative property.

The main condition for increasing the level of socialization of agricultural production is its industrialization--owing to which agriculture gains equal status with industry, in terms of labor productivity, technical equipment, production organization and the degree of use of the achievements of science and technology. In the process of switching agriculture onto an industrial track to development, its material-technical base is improved, as well as its situation with respect to fixed production capital. For example, on Uzbekistan's kolkhozes and sovkhozes, their value increased during the 1965-1982 period from R3,000,000,000.00 to R16,000,000,000.00. Owing to the growth in technical equipment, there was a two-fold-plus increase in the power-worker ratio--up to 12.6 horsepower--in the republic's agricultural sector, while the capital-labor ratio increased by a factor of 3.5 and amounted to R7,800.00.

At the same time these indicators are significantly lower than the USSR average. In accordance with the tasks of the 11th Five Year Plan and the USSR Food Program, in 1985 the average national power-worker ratio at agricultural enterprises is to reach 38-40 horsepower, while the capital-labor ratio is to reach R13,000.00. It is only with indicators such as these that it will be possible to approach the level characteristic for the machine-worker ratio in the industrial types of labor in our country.

In order to do this, first of all it is necessary to equalize the material-technical base of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, the basic producers of agricultural products. In 1982 the level of mechanization of harvesting cotton on the kolkhozes in Uzbekistan was 53 per cent, and 57 per cent on the sovkhoses, while overall mechanization at poultry farms was 18 and 57 per cent, respectively. Higher capital- and power-labor ratios gives the sovkhoses an advantage in their productivity: in 1980 they received average annual gross output per worker of R3,007.00 (in comparable 1973 prices), while on the kolkhozes this indicator was R2,716.00.

Agricultural development is accompanied by changes in the correlation of the kolkhoz and sovkhos forms of production, and the current decline in the number of kolkhozes and kolkhoz members is part of an objective process. Thus, whereas in 1965 there were 991 kolkhozes in operation in Uzbekistan, in 1982 the figure was 854; but the number of sovkhoses increased during this period from 283 to 1,099. The proportion of kolkhoz members to the total number of agricultural workers has declined from 72.2 per cent in 1965 to 49.4 per cent in 1982; but the proportion of sovkhos workers increased correspondingly from 27.1 to 50.8 per cent. By the start of 1983, 17.3 per cent of the agricultural fixed capital in the republic fell to the kolkhozes while the sovkhoses possessed 46 per cent. This was brought about by the leading role of public ownership, by the higher rates of development of sovkhoses, and by their higher level of technical equipment. The transformation of a portion of the kolkhozes into sovkhoses had a significant effect on this process.

At the same time, Uzbekistan's kolkhozes have become highly-mechanized and electrified large agricultural enterprises, which possess modern technology and skilled cadres. In 1982 for every farm there was an average of 942 kolkhoz households, 1,201 workers, 75 tractors, and 18 cotton-picking machines. The non-distributable funds per kolkhoz in terms of fixed and working capital increased in comparison with 1965 by a factor of 2.7, and in 1982 amounted to R5,213,000.00, while gross income increased twofold. These results were achieved with a significant reduction in land area; that is, by virtue of intensification of production. Thus, the convergence of the two forms of ownership is characterized by maximum use of the potential of each of them.

The processes of integration which are taking place in the industrial and social structures of the city and the countryside are creating conditions for the comprehensive solution of the problem of labor resources. In the official report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress it was noted that, "In Central Asia...there is a surplus of workers, especially in the countryside. And this means that the population of these localities must be more actively recruited for settling the new territories of the country. And naturally, in order to develop production needed for the national economy here, more of the native populace must be trained as skilled workers--and above all the rural youth."

Uzbekistan possesses significant labor resources in the rural areas. However, their complete utilization is complicated by the relatively low social mobility of the rural inhabitants. Situating enterprises of the light and

food industries which process agricultural products, and also enterprises of the services spheres in the rural areas, will play a large role in increasing it.

Solving the problems of comprehensive organization of labor resources and their rational distribution between the city and the country is connected with achieving equality in working conditions in industry and in agriculture. The 26th CPSU Congress outlined an extensive program for making human labor not only more productive but also richer in content, more interesting and creative. In this respect, the USSR Food Program calls attention to the need for increasing in every possible way the prestige of agricultural work, and for more actively introducing rational working and leisure conditions for sovkhoz workers and kolkhoz members. Consequently, changes in labor content are the prerequisites for the gradual elimination of their social differences. This permit increasing the assignment of cadres to the countryside, and expand their opportunities for professional growth and increased skills and responsibilities.

An important factor in accelerating the process of convergence of urban and rural lifestyles is the gradual leveling of the workers' income both with respect to the method of wage formation and to its amount. The differences in income which have come to pass are objectively connected with a number of causes, among which the principal one is the difference in the level of development of the productive forces, which brings about lower labor productivity in agriculture (and consequently, also the peculiarities in the structure and social organization of production); and the personnel are not as skilled, which has an influence on the amount of wages and the methods of income formation for the rural population. The income of a significant part of the rural workers is connected with the cooperative form of ownership, which also brings about a significant difference in the amount of income both with respect to distribution according to labor and social security.

The socialist state persistently follows a line for convergence of incomes of the urban and rural population. This process is proceeding in parallel with the socialization of agricultural production. To the extent that the degree of socialization is increased, the income of the cooperative enterprises is formed on a wider base; the specific production conditions are used more rationally owing to specialization; the structure of employment changes in connection with improving the distribution of the productive forces, and by virtue of the overall development of the branches and territorial units; there are expanded opportunities for creating large reserves for regulating the objective differences in income, which do not depend on the activities of the separate farms. This is to a great extent brought about by state support of the private subsidiary farms of the urban and rural workers.

In 1982, the real income of kolkhoz members in Uzbekistan had increased by a factor of 2.2, in comparison with 1965, and that of workers and employees by a factor of 1.9. The main source for satisfying vital needs is wages, which provide, first, the material interest of the kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers in the end results of agricultural production; and second, convergence of the levels of income in accordance with the work of the various social groups.

In four five-year plans, average monthly wages for agricultural work, and especially for kolkhoz members, has been increasing at a rate that is overtaking that of wages for industrial workers and employees. In the 11th Five Year Plan more than R16,000,000,000.00 was allocated for centralized measures for increasing wages and other payments and benefits to the populace of the USSR. By the end of the 11th Five Year Plan average monthly wages for workers and employees will increase by 13-16 per cent, and will reach 190-195 rubles; but the income of the kolkhoz members from the social economy will increase by 20-22 per cent. And this will bring about further convergence in the wages of agricultural and industrial workers. In 1982, wages for Uzbekistan kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers amounted to 72.5 and 86.5 per cent of the wages of industrial workers, respectively. But the absolute differences in wages for agricultural and industrial workers in the republic, just as in the country on the average, are increasing of late. Therefore the convergence of the levels of wages for the workers in these leading branches is taking place slowly. Thus, the difference in amount of average monthly wages for kolkhoz members and that of the sovkhoz workers in the Uzbek SSR amounted to 24.7 rubles in 1982; between kolkhoz members and industrial workers, 47.8 rubles; but for sovkhoz workers and employees the difference was 23.1 rubles less, in comparison with the industrial workers.

In order to establish a stable working collective in the countryside, and to staff the kolkhozes and sovkhozes with skilled cadres, it is necessary to overcome the negative trends with respect to wages for workers in agricultural production and that of other workers in the national economy. This can be done on the basis of further improvement of distributive relationships--specifically, by increasing the distributive role by means of making income more dependent upon a worker's personal contribution in social production.

Socialization in production brings about socialization in distribution. In conditions of agroindustrial integration the requirements of scientific-technical progress are met the most by the collective form of wages, on the basis of which collective and personal interests are joined for optimal satisfaction of social interests. The Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures for Intensifying the Material Interest of Agricultural Workers for Increasing Product Output and Increasing its Quality," adopted in May 1982, calls for universal introduction of the brigade contract in agriculture, which ensures higher labor indicators and greater savings of resources, as well as expanding the practice of payment in kind and incentives for increased profitability of economic activities.

The currently existing wage system in agriculture is not sufficiently connected with growth of production volumes and increasing its efficiency. Thus, from 1965 through 1982 wages increased by 52 per cent on the sovkhozes of Uzbekistan, and by 36 per cent on the kolkhozes. But labor productivity, based on average annual computation for an average agricultural worker increased by 14 per cent during this period. Such an increase in wages, which far exceeds the growth in labor productivity, was connected with the necessity to correct the disproportions in wages for agricultural and industrial labor, and the income of the rural and urban populace.

In order to increase the incentive role of wages, and the material responsibility of the production collectives and workers for the final results, it is sensible to change to a system of evaluating the people's labor for an extended period. This was spoken of at the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "One cannot judge the work of those employed in agriculture on the results of a single year. Evaluating people and their labor must be done in consideration of what they have achieved with good weather as well as with poor weather conditions, and the degree to which the results of their labor are consistent and stable." At the present time the convergence of wages in the kolkhoz and in the state sectors is being implemented, depending to a certain extent on growth of the productivity, qualification and employment of kolkhoz workers in social production--which testifies to the purposeful trend in the 11th Five Year Plan for closer interaction in the solution of economic and social problems.

But it is not only growth of income that determines the process of convergence in the standard of living of the urban and rural populace. An important aspect of this is the actual use to which their income is put. It reflects the level and pattern of consumption of material goods and services and testifies to the degree of correspondence between the income of the populace and the real possibilities for satisfying their needs.

In this respect there is taking place, on the one hand, a growth in consumption of foodstuffs and nonfood items in the rural area; and on the other convergence of the pattern of use of the accumulated income of the urban and rural populace. Thus, at the present time, there is little difference in the nourishment of the rural residents of Uzbek SSR and that of the urban inhabitants, but it diverges from scientific standards more significantly than among the latter.

The proportion of monetary expenditures of the rural populace for nonfood goods in the total amount of expenditures is still lower than for the urban residents: in 1982 it amounted to 52.9 and 58.3 per cent, respectively. But growth rates of such expenditures among the rural residents are higher: from 1965 through 1982 they increased for rural residents by a factor of 2.7 and by a factor of 2.4 for the city dwellers. For example, the sale of refrigerators to the rural populace during this period increased by a factor of 5.6; for furniture, by 5.8; for TV's by 3.1; and for washing machines by a factor of 2.7.

The correlation between income and real possibilities for satisfying one's needs also depends on the equilibrium of supply and demand, and on the development of trade in the countryside. Shortcomings in this matter are reflected in the outstripping growth rates for savings among rural residents as compared to their monetary income; which, in turn are increasing faster than their expenses. Thus, total savings bank deposits by the rural inhabitants of Uzbekistan from 1970 through 1982 increased by a factor of 3.5.

Convergence of income of the city dwellers and the rural residents is taking place not only by virtue of wages but also at the expense of the social consumption funds. During the period 1965-1982 they increased by a factor of 4.2 in Uzbek SSR, and by a factor of 2.6 on a per capita basis. There was significant growth during this period in expenditures for social security and social insurance, which grew by a factor of 4.7. At the start of



1983 more than 731,000 kolkhoz members in the republic were receiving pensions, as compared with 391,000 in 1966. In the current five-year plan it is planned to increase the minimum amount of old age pensions for kolkhoz members up to 40 rubles per month, with a one-time increase in the minimum amounts of pensions for invalids and in case of loss of breadwinner. A broad complex of measures is being taken at the expense of the social consumption fund; measures which are very important in equalizing living conditions and standards of the urban and rural populace.

The social infrastructure has an important role in overcoming the socio-economic differences between the city and the country; this includes housing facilities, the road and transportation network, and socio-cultural, municipal-domestic and trade services to the populace. Since 1965 there have been significant changes in the social infrastructure of Uzbekistan. Twice as many living accommodations have been built in the countryside than in the republic as a whole over the preceding 40 years; moreover, 77 per cent of them are furnished with gas. At present, nearly 3,000 rural populated areas are furnished with gas, as opposed to 244 in 1965. Medical services are increasing at a greater rate than in the city: from 1970 through 1982 the number of physicians of all specialties per 10,000 residents increased by 31.6 per cent in the city, and by 67.2 per cent in the countryside. The per capita retail goods turnover in the rural areas increased between 1965 and 1982 at a rate which outstrips that of the city, by factors of 2.5 and 1.9, respectively. Goods turnover at public catering enterprises in the countryside increased during this period by a factor of 3.4. And there are now three times as many clubs and houses of culture in the rural areas.

And nonetheless the rates and scales of socio-economic changes in the countryside are insufficient. The quantitative growth indicators for development of its social infrastructure are unsatisfactory; and the quality of services rendered to the populace is lagging significantly. Thus, in spite of accelerated expansion of medical services in the rural areas, in 1982 per 10,000 inhabitants in Uzbekistan there were 22.4 physicians, and 111.7 hospital beds (taking into consideration their use of medical dispensaries in the cities); but for the corresponding number of urban residents, the numbers were 42.5 physicians and 128 hospital beds. The volume of goods turnover in the rural areas figured on a per capita basis amounted to 42.5 per cent of the goods turnover which falls to a city dweller. There are also significant differences in providing the urban and rural populace with schools, children's institutions and domestic-trade services.

Further improvements in living conditions in the countryside will depend upon capital investments for its social reconstruction. In the 1980's, nearly 160 billion rubles is being allocated just for housing, cultural-domestic and road construction in the rural areas of the country. "Even on our scale," it was stressed at the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "this is a large figure. But this is not only a large figure. This is a great policy directed at erasing the social differences between the city and the country."

At the same time, merely by increasing capital investments one cannot achieve the end result which is expected of the social transformations taking place in the rural areas. Solving the problems of the countryside on its own base, or an orientation toward expanding an autonomous system of social services will not provide for real equality in the living standards and working conditions of the urban and rural populace--for, the socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-domestic capabilities of the countryside are significantly lower than that of the city. Genuine equalization of living conditions can be achieved only after having established a uniform regional system for services to the populace, which will permit providing the necessary minimum satisfaction of needs for services at each populated area, by virtue of standard access to them for both urban and rural citizens.

COPYRIGHT: "Kommunist Uzbekistana". 1984

9006

CSO: 1830/603

## REGIONAL

### FILMS ATTACK UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS, UNIATES, EMIGRES

Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 13 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Candidate of Art Criticism Nonna Kapel'horods'ka: "Cursed by the People: Notes About Films Which Reveal the Perfidious Essence of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists"]

[Text] In a lecture at the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography, Oleksandr Dovzhenko aptly defined the main and fundamental elements which distinguish Soviet films from bourgeois films. These are, first and foremost, their profound respect for man, and internationalism. This feature of our multiethnic cinematic art has today become a fine tradition, which is being developed with the same inspiration by film makers of both the older and younger generations. Disseminating lofty truth about life in their country, depicting the struggle between the new and the old, which is withering away, and extolling the romance of heroic labor, Ukrainian film makers possess a deep understanding of their history. Thus they are helping educate the filmgoer, especially young people, in a spirit of faithfulness to the ideals of communism.

One important tradition of the cinematographer of the Soviet Ukraine is exposing the traitorous nature of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, who have been forever cursed by the people. The very first documentaries revealed the antipopular essence of the bourgeois-nationalist Central Council and depicted the struggle by the toilers of the Ukraine against the Petlyura movement. Feature films are also made which affirm the ideas of equality and solidarity among the toilers of all nations, the age-old friendship between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, and condemn bourgeois nationalism. It is not mere happenstance that, in characterizing O. Dovzhenko's film "Zvenyhora," Mykola Bazhan stressed first and foremost that this is a portrait of a class which liberates nations, a profoundly national and at the same time international work, which debunks the romance of nationalism and the "bloody haydamak movement of our time, which tarnished the countenance of our sunny Ukraine." Another O. Dovzhenko film, "Arsenal," features scenes which expose Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. Typical from this standpoint is a scene in which a Petlyura follower, in an ecstasy of nationalism, lights an icon lamp before the portrait of Kobzar', who extinguishes it in disgust. This was a passionate reply to those who were attempting to defame and falsify the actions and ideas of Kobzar' and to place him among the ranks of nationalist



"saints." O. Dovzhenko countered the hostile myth of the non-bourgeois nature of the Ukrainian nation with the truth of the class struggle in the Ukraine, and claims about the division of toilers into Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians with monolithic proletarian solidarity and internationalism.

This directional thrust to the film was particularly relevant. Precisely at this time P. Chardynin's film "Taras Shevchenko" began to be shown in the theaters of New York, Minneapolis, Saint Louis, Los Angeles, and other U.S. cities, plunging it into the center of the ideological struggle. "A great many heads which had been dizzied by Petlyura-UND [Ukrainian National Democratic] propaganda, have commenced viewing differently those processes which are taking place in the Soviet Ukraine," B. Mykolyuk, New York correspondent for the magazine KINO, wrote in 1929 after viewing this film. At that time this film was shown in all the towns of Bucovina and Galicia. This was the first Soviet film which the Polish bourgeois censorship office permitted to be shown, following long delays. The local toiling populace was overjoyed at its appearance, although the film contained a great many cuts.

The anger of the people, who had risen up in struggle for their freedom, against the traitorous policy of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, was subsequently portrayed in a gifted manner by a film by I. Savchenko entitled "The Horsemen," following the motifs of the novel of the same name by Yu. Yanovs'kyy.

The artist also presents with inspiration heroic pages from the liberation battles of the Ukrainian people for reunification with Russia in the film "Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyy." As the director recalled, he had wanted to portray "the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the feudal lords who had enslaved our land, against the rapacious grasp of the Vatican, which was endeavoring, having deceived our homeland, to take away its distinctiveness." The theme of this film was dictated by actual events: the making of this film coincided with an important event in the history of the Ukrainian people -- reunification of the Western Ukrainian lands with the Soviet Ukraine in the fraternal family of peoples of the USSR. Oleksandr Dovzhenko headed at that time a special cinematographic team to make the film "Liberation," which told of the joyless past of the toilers of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia and about that enthusiasm with which they greeted reunification. Subsequently he worked on the film "Bucovina -- Ukrainian Soil," dealing with the liberation of Bucovina.

Considerable interest was also evoked by a film by A. Room entitled "Wind From the East," with the script written by Vanda Vasylevs'ka and Vasyl' Kucher. Telling of the fate of Transcarpathian peasant Khoma Gabrys', who was astutely played by A. Buchma, and about his difficult road to happiness and the struggle against oppression, the authors of this film felicitously expressed the job of liberation from the yoke of exploitation of people who had united for all time with their brothers and sisters.

The theme of reunification of the Ukrainian lands, friendship with the Russian people, and exposure of bourgeois nationalist renegades working for imperialist intelligence services and ideological sabotage centers became particularly popular in Ukrainian cinematic art of the postwar years. It was

precisely at this time that the world community learned about the mass murders perpetrated by the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] Nachtigall and Roland battalions under the banner of the Third Reich, the profascist policy of the Greek Catholic Church, led by its metropolitan, Andriy Sheptyts'kyy, and the bloody crimes committed by the SS Galizien Division, formed of Uniate-nationalist traitors.

Prominent Ukrainian motion picture director Viktor Ivchenko produced, with a script written by the writer Volodymyr Belyayev, a film entitled "Ivanna," incisive in its antifascist and anticlerical thrust. This film emotionally told the tragic story of the priest's daughter Stavnycha who, having witnessed crimes committed by the Hitlerites and the savagely cruel "activities" by the highest officer of the Greek Catholic Church, Sheptyts'kyy, denounces her belief in God, becomes a partisan, and dies in the hangman's noose.

This film was of great propaganda importance. It carried to the viewers the truth about those who, hiding behind hypocritical slogans about an "independent" Ukraine, perpetrated bloody crimes against Soviet citizens. Especially if one considers the fact that precisely at this time the sinister corporation CANUKR Film Production Limited commenced operations in Oshawa, near Toronto, specializing in anti-Soviet films, while reactionary Ukrainian emigre circles organized in Philadelphia the Ukrainian Film Studio (UFS), which attempted to whitewash in its products the Bandera cutthroats who had sworn a dishonorable oath of fealty to the Fuehrer and betrayed their own people.

The beastly countenance of racism and one of its variations -- Ukrainian nationalism -- is revealed in a uniquely acute manner by a film made by Odessa cinematographers entitled "Up to the Last Moment," which is dedicated to the memory of eminent Ukrainian antifascist writer and impassioned public affairs commentator Yaroslav Halan. The film exposes those who, in Cainitic betrayal of the homeland, chose to become spying servants of international reaction.

The finest scenes of a film by Yuriy Ilenko entitled "White Bird With Black Mark" were focused against the members of the so-called "Ukrainian Insurgent Army," which assisted the German fascists in their bloody business and became the most savage enemies of their people.

Anatoliy Bukovs'kyy's film "Failure of Operation 'Big Dipper'" deals with the courageous struggle of Soviet Chekists against Ukrainian nationalists in the postwar Carpathians. The makers of this film convincingly show that those men without a country who are today encamped in the West are historically doomed.

We might also mention the films "Crimson Shores" by the brothers Oles' and Yaroslav Lupiy, "Such a Warm, Late Fall...." by Ivan Mykolaychuk, and many others.

Volodymyr Denysenko's film "High Pass" particularly impassionedly affirms the theme of friendship of peoples and Soviet internationalism. The film's heroine, Yaroslava Petryn, brilliantly played by Natalya Naum, is a true partisan leader, who organizes people for the struggle against nationalist bands and helps rid her native region of Bandera scum. V. Denysenko's film

convincingly shows that life goes on and victory is won by the strength and invincibility of those fine ideals which embody working people's age-old dream of happiness.

An important position is occupied by films focused against bourgeois nationalism, which today has become an obedient agent of the CIA, and the antipopular actions of the Uniate and Greek Catholic Church, movies which expose past war criminals, produced by the people at the Ukrainian Order of Merit Documentary Film Studio. They produced the keen political commentaries "Bitter Echo," "No Statute of Limitations," "Three Faces of Peter Menten," "Just Who Are You, Mr Klymchuk?", the cinematic triptych "The Trojan Horse," "The Vampires," and others, revealing in an interesting manner the talent of political commentator Ivan Kochan and directors Anatoliiy Fedoriv and Yevhen Tatarets.

Exposing the perfidious policies of imperialism and its attempts to utilize in subversive "psychological warfare" former members of the Gestapo, members of the SS from the Galizien Division, and bourgeois-nationalist riffraff who have entrenched themselves across the ocean, Ukrainian cinematographers are producing more and more films which debunk our ideological enemies and in which the triumph of the Soviet way of life is affirmed.

Film director Valeriy Pidpalyy, who has made a name for himself with his anticlerical films "Penance for the Sins of Others" and "Mysteries of Saint George," has now begun making a picture, with script by Rostyslav Sambuk, entitled "Cancan in the English Gardens," directed against the provocational activities of Ukrainian nationalists in the pay of the CIA and the notorious broadcasting enterprises Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. The future plans of this republic's film studios contain additional films which will demonstrate the criminal essence of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. They are being produced by master film makers who understand well the great internationalist mission of the Soviet cinema and who are carefully nurturing its finest traditions. They are creating a militant, aggressive art, which vigorously affirms Communist ideals, while exposing imperialism and its flunkies.

3024

CSO: 1811/69

## REGIONAL

### REPUBLIC-WIDE CHECK ON LABOR DISCIPLINE

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 20 Apr 84 p 3

[Article: "Check-Inspection on the State of Labor Discipline"]

[Text] The People's Control Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR, the Azerbaijan Trade Union Council and the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Lenin Young Communist League decided to conduct an inspection from 23 April to 10 May 1984 in enterprises and construction projects, in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, organizations and institutions on fulfilling the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Trade Union Council "Concerning the intensification of work for the strengthening of socialist labor discipline" and a corresponding decree of the AzCP Central Committee, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and the Azerbaijan Trade Union Council.

The major purpose of the inspection is the rendering of all possible aid to party and soviet organizations and labor collectives in the confirmation of high discipline, organization and order and also the observation of the optimal operating conditions of institutions and enterprises occupied with serving the population. It is necessary to mobilize the strength of the public for intensifying the battle against any destruction of labor and production discipline, for raising the demands for economic leaders for the creation of normal conditions of labor, for preventing the loss of work time, idleness, and loafing; it is necessary to practically eliminate in the course of the check the deficiencies and violations, to bring into operation all the resources of the subsequent productivity, elevation of labor quality and efficiency of production.

Oblast, municipal and rayon people's control committees, the oblast councils, republic, oblast and rayon committees of branch professional unions, oblast, municipal and rayon committees of the Komsomol must complete the goals and tasks of the inspection of their primary organizations and non-staff aktiv, maintain their participation in this activity, conduct an organized and effective inspection, give it widespread publicity, realize practically its materials through managers, review it at labor collective meetings and at its sessions. Using rights and powers, provided by law, to report to party and soviet organs, to submit proposals and spectacular questions to the appropriate republic departments.

The proposal of the People's Control Committee, the Azerbaijan Trade Union Council and the Azerbaijan Lenin Young Communist League Central Committee concerning the carrying out of a check-inspection of the state of labor discipline was approved by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

12596

CSO: 1830/474

END